

THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER, 1873.

No. 8.

DIFFUSION OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE THE FOUNDATION OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Political science is one of the most important branches of human knowledge, because the political structure and organization of the State have a most direct and powerful influence upon the welfare of every individual and the condition of society. It is, also, by far, more intricate and more difficult of analysis than the physical sciences, because it deals with the mental as well as the physical needs, and must also grapple with the wants of society in detail and entirety, as well as with international relations.

But, while the astronomer for years patiently examines a single phenomenon, and the chemist again and again tries the same series of experiments with a care that even makes allowance for the exudation of the skin of the manipulator, the majority of men believe that they are born statesmen, and never dream that vastly more of preparation and study are essential to statesmanship than to a high degree of eminence in astronomy or chemistry.

A statement of even the outlines of modern government, will carry the conviction to the mind of every intelligent man that government is a gigantic and intricate structure, while a full enumeration, beginning with the road and school district, and ending with the General Government, would fill volumes, of which Blackstone is an illustration.

First. The establishment and protection of the civil, political, and legal rights of each individual.

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Second. The providing for the defence of the country, which necessarily includes a knowledge of every branch of military and naval science.

Third. The administrative functions, which, though last in order, come more frequently into actual contact with the people. Carriage of the mails, regulation of commerce, collection of the revenue, and river and harbor improvements being specimens of this class of duties.

Fourth. The establishment of a civil service, which, in its largest sense, includes all public functionaries—exclusive of the Army and Navy—the Executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative officers and clerical employés.

Thus it will be perceived that the happiness of every individual, in his relation as a citizen, husband, father, child, business man, workingman, or soldier, is in the keeping of government. For, no matter how well he may thrive for a time, or how honest and devoted he may personally be, domestic rebellion, or foreign war, or dishonest administration, may strip him of all his possessions and tear asunder his most cherished relations.

In view of the magnitude and intricacy of the science of government, we need not marvel that its growth and its diffusion among the masses have been extremely slow. For thousands of years the primitive theory of blind obedience to a personal ruler obtained, and but three civilized nations up to the present day have secured governmental organi-

zations, which throw the responsibility of good government upon the people at large, and which, at the same time, are free from periodical revolutions and disorders. We allude to Switzerland, England, and the United States.

France, though a highly-educated and scientific nation, is vibrating from license and revolution to military absolutism; Spain seems in the very death-throes of political dissolution; Russia, Austria, and Germany are absolute military despotisms, tempered by the personal disposition of liberal rulers.

In these circumstances, it is strange that in the United States, where there are hundreds of organs of creeds, trades, and parties, there is but one periodical (*THE REPUBLIC*) devoted to the sole purpose of elucidating and disseminating political science. The endeavor to reduce statesmanship to one of the exact sciences, so that any citizen may become a competent and intelligent judge of political measures, demands two conditions for its success: First, that the teachers shall be competent, studious, and unselfish men, who love political science for its own sake; and, secondly, that there shall be found a sufficient number of citizens who desire this information, and who are sufficiently enthusiastic in the cause to induce them to a vigorous and active support.

It must be evident that a publication like *THE REPUBLIC* labors under some disadvantages peculiar to its mission. No temptation to reach popularity can induce it, as long as it remains true to its purpose, to treat any subject in a sensational, or brilliant but unscientific, manner. The value of such a journal must be in the *safety* of its counsels, and in the carefulness of its utterances. *THE REPUBLIC* must, therefore, be studied like a law-book—it must be read with the desire of obtaining information, and of participating in the investigation, and not for mere amusement or pastime. Its aim to teach, to solve difficulties, and to provide remedies, should be ever kept in view, both by author and reader, and from that standpoint it will

be found one of the most interesting, as well as instructing, publications.

Many of the evils of which the public press complains, arise from a want of clear comprehension of governmental function, and an indifference in the selection of governmental agents, both elective and appointive. Though a long and loud cry of reform has been raised, the remedies proposed present a "beggarly account of empty boxes." The sole aim of the Opposition press has been to throw, indiscriminately, discredit upon Government officers. This method of political warfare has a strong tendency to make matters worse. Upon this subject our opinions are so well expressed by the *Dubuque Times*, one of the most ably conducted journals in the West, that we adopt its sentiments. It says:

"There seems to us to be a phase of public opinion in this country that is destined in the end to work great injury to our institutions—we mean the indiscriminate denunciation that is poured out upon public officers; the disposition to denounce them as mendicants; as fellows seeking to live off the public; as men worthy of grave suspicion; as being engaged in an employment that is derogatory to their manhood. In every other nation an official position brings with it consideration and respect. Here it is fast bringing with it contempt and abuse, until men sensitive of their honor shrink from the ordeal of office-holding. No matter how much above the necessity for labor men are when they go into office, the fact of accepting place is sure to bring with it imputations of a desire to use office for improper purposes. No matter how long they have maintained unspotted characters as citizens, they are branded as scoundrels as soon as they become office-holders. Whatever may have been the honorable way in which office came to them—however unsolicited—they are sure to be pointed at as men living off the people. If by that economy which enables men all around them getting less salaries to accumulate the means to buy homes, or to extend their business, they also provide for themselves homes and occupations, envy or meanness never hesitates to attribute these evidences of thrift to official dishonesty. Their private life is invaded that something may be dragged forth to public view that can be given a reprehensible aspect. They are put upon the

defensive at all times. They must not demand that they shall be proven to be guilty of some exceptionable act, but the burden is cast upon them to prove that they have not committed some wrong or some crime not discovered."

Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," well says, that in political science nothing can be regarded as an established truth which has not been proved, both inductively as well as deductively. Theory and experience must go side by side. Therefore, before a new step is taken, all the phases and relations must be examined.

THE REPUBLIC is only partisan so far as it believes that the Republican party is both desirous and capable of carrying on the Government to the best advantage of the people, and that there is within its ranks sufficient integrity, when strengthened by a sound public opinion, to drive dishonest men from command. But it should be remembered that nothing is valuable which is not the product of toil and self-sacrifice; and, therefore, all men who are truly in earnest for governmental reform should make personal sacrifices to spread political knowledge among the people.

Political progress can only be achieved by careful investigation and mental discipline. Every step in advance must be the result of experience and adaptation. Political catchwords, general and vague denunciations, and abstract resolutions in town meetings and conventions, not only cannot achieve success, but are often, by misleading public sentiment, a hindrance.

If THE REPUBLIC could speak to one hundred thousand men devoted solely to the investigation and examination of political measures as a study and a science, it would induce such a concentration of the popular will as would place our institutions in the foremost ranks, both for capacity and integrity in administration. The times are pregnant with agitation and destructive tendencies, but without the capacity to rebuild; and it is for the earnest men of America to determine whether they will aid THE REPUBLIC in arousing the mental and

moral power of the nation to such action and such a preponderating influence as to shape governmental policy in the straight path of constructive progress.

A GOOD EFFECT.—A first-class thunderstorm is a needed relief at times. It purifies the atmosphere and brings health and comfort in its train. True, its terrible crashes and vivid lightning may startle the nervous and impress them with the terrors of the judgment to come, but the general effect is good; and when the storm has passed even the frightened ones acknowledge the grateful relief. The financial crash which came upon Wall street and other centres of speculation has had its good effect. It was the financial thunderstorm, needed to purify the moral atmosphere. The little harm done is nothing compared to the good brought about. We shall have less speculation for some years to come. Money bound up in fancy stocks will seek other and safer channels of profit. Legitimate business will be largely benefited, and the general prosperity of the nation will be doubly assured.

TIMELY ACTION.—The action of President Grant and Secretary Richardson in refusing to loan the stock gamblers of Wall street public funds to keep them from the ruin they invited, meets with commendation everywhere. The willingness of the Government to purchase twelve million dollars' worth of United States bonds was a legitimate transaction, as profitable to the Government as it was welcome to the business centres. It has had the effect of releasing sufficient currency to help business men through the emergency, and effectually stopping a general panic.

THE best proof that can be given of the wisdom of the financial policy of the Government under a Republican administration, is found in the fact, that while the best stocks in the country were seriously affected by the recent panic, United States bonds were worth their face in gold.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

The Republicans of Massachusetts held their convention for the nomination of a State ticket, at Worcester, September 10. Over eleven hundred delegates were present at Mechanics' Hall—the exciting contest over the governorship, and the almost equal strength of the Washburn and Butler factions tending to draw out a full representation. Both sides were represented by the best political material in their ranks, and the proceedings of the convention were characterized by an earnestness and a degree of harmony seldom equalled, and never surpassed, in the past conventions of the old Bay State.

The active canvass on the part of the friends of Mr. Washburn and Mr. Butler, the personality of the campaign, and the well-known ability of the Essex statesman to conduct a bitter fight, gave reasonable assurance that the session would be both stormy and prolonged. In this all were happily disappointed. The struggle for mastery ended when the convention opened. Mr. Butler saw by a test vote, which he had introduced, that he was defeated, and when the evening session opened, promptly withdrew his name, and astonished his friends and opponents by giving in his adhesion to a platform which was evidently framed to add to the sting of defeat, the rebuke of the convention.

Ex-Governor Bullock acted as president of the convention, and after a short prayer from Rev. Mr. Lamson, of Worcester, delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: You will accept my thanks for the honor you confer upon me, and I accept the office, knowing that in a representative convention of Massachusetts men, it should not be a difficult duty of the presiding officer to interpret and apply the rules of order and courtesy which spring from the personal honor and self-respect of the members.

My words shall be few. You have assembled, the chosen representatives of the Republicans of the State, when discussions and events which may be observed in the country, admonish wisdom

and circumspection here. It is in the year succeeding an election of President that men feel the strings of party loosening from their limbs, exercise more freely their own choice and judgment, and organize within their own minds ideas as to the persons and policies and administrations. What shall happen at the next quadrennial election depends much upon what is promulgated, and more upon what is done in the interval by authorized and official public agents. While this is in a degree true immediately after any inauguration of the President, it is especially and significantly true at this time. The Republican party came out of the last canvass with very large majorities—partly because of the absence of a united and homogeneous opposing party, in part because of a more general belief of their promises of reform than of the same promises made by their opponents, partly because of the power of public patronage which has been unduly exercised by every Administration since that of John Quincy Adams, in part because a practical and commercial people are slow to change their Government in a period of material prosperity, and, above all, I apprehend, because of the confidence the country had in the plain, modest, robust character of the President. The expiration of the present term will complete a period of sixteen years of what I may call a continuous administration, which has not once been exceeded, and only once has been equaled by a continuity of administration in all the political contests since the days of Washington. It would almost be strange, and not according to human nature under the condition of American politics, after such lapse of time and under a system of government which extends its patronage, opportunities, and temptations over a territory of imperial limits, and among classes that learn only too quickly the ways of official thrift, if scandalous irregularities and immoralities had not sprung up in the public service, at first denied, next connived at, and afterward condoned under the pressure of impending elections. If I speak of what might occur, I speak as well of that which, in common belief, has occurred. And these things have gone as far as the good name of any party or the public sense can bear. The fears of the early founders were spent in the wrong direction; the peril to the purity of the Government lies not in high ambitions, but in low dishonesties; it comes not from men who "think

of doing great things for glory, but from men who think of doing mean things for profit."

Our party, then, which is strong in its recent majorities; strong in the memories of the heroic time so lately passed; strong in many a Senator and Representative who bears about him no odor of suspicion, and strong in its President, who stands the hard test remarkably well—has the weakness which comes from its prolonged years, from many of its former issues now receding, from vices first nursed unwittingly, and then tolerated unwillingly, from the possibilities of diversions in a general curiosity for new agitations and new departures, from the suspicions cherished by a stern and just people that where there is so much smoke of investigation there must be some fire of truth. And now is the hour—nor one hour too soon—to arrest the tendencies and correct the abuses wherever they may be found. Let us not be found in the same order of time with the great Cardinal, who, after the discovery of his deceptions upon his sovereign, and his misuse of the public moneys, and after his own downfall, bitterly exclaimed that "corruption wins not more than honesty."

THE NEED OF REFORM.

And now, fellow-citizens and Republicans, are there no signs of the times—from California, from new names and new organizations in the West, from the reports which come to us, from our own instincts and intuitions as to what is going on in distant fields of canvassing—are there no signs visible to the Republicans of this State, and of all the States, that if we would continue our power for public good we must rise to the exigency of the occasion? I allude to no technical method of civil service reform, so called, for, in my humble opinion, it is but a doubtful, certainly only a partial, remedy—good enough for a political demand by one party and a political promise by another party in a Presidential election; good enough for a commission to sit upon, but limited at best, liable to evasions, and inadequate for a national disease. It relates to capacity more than to fitness. Education furnishes capacity, but integrity must be added for fitness. No, the conscience, the determination, the action of the party, must rise to a general and unqualified demand for purification in all the offices and in all the practices of the Government service. We must not be behind Germany, or France, or Great Britain, in each of which during the year a whole empire has been in motion

over a single instance of accusation of undue personal gain from a public trust. Our necessity is greater than theirs, for the life of a republican government is in its administration according to virtue. The country will scarcely be satisfied by convention resolutions—things which have been and must be. The people of the country—the Republicans of the country—will receive the resolutions as they go forth from one convention after another, with something like the poet's greeting:

"'Tis well said again,
And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well,
And yet words are no deeds."

Let us rather inaugurate an era of conduct and action and of persistent insistence for official singleness and purity of every man connected with the Government, high or low, as far as he can be followed. The people will enforce the demand, and if they cannot find a way open, they will make one. Fortunate the Republican party, which is now responsible for the government of this country, if it shall appreciate the situation; felicitous the lot of the President if he shall make the order sound through every department and every head that sleeps upon one of his commissions. Then he will be stronger than before. So the people of Great Britain, after years of corruption under Walpole—not so much his fault as the fault of his time—rallied in a spirit of personal devotion to the upright Christian, whose exaltation in the hearts of Englishmen and in the judgment of history has rested on the belief that he was, above all his compeers of that age, the representative Premier of honor and honesty in the public service. May our President win a fame as stainless.

I do not forget, gentlemen, that we have now to discharge the more immediate home duty of selecting the executive officers for the government of our own Commonwealth during the year to come. We ought to be able to do this without personal animosity or friction. This is rather a self-governing State, in which, however, the Governor is an essential personage. He usually, after one or two or three years, passes quietly into the dusty repository of history. But the State is sacred, and is worthy of delicate and tender treatment. I may be permitted to say that it has been, without any conspicuous exception, a well-governed State, from the days of John Hancock down to the present time—and not omitting the present time. I shall be greatly disappointed if the next year, or any of the future years, shall witness an exception.

At the conclusion of Governor Bullock's address, the convention, on motion of General Butler, adjourned until 2.45 p. m. The afternoon was consumed by speech-making; the pretext being a resolution to debar a delegate named Green from voting, because he had asserted that, in the event of General Butler's nomination, he would not vote for him; the object, to determine the relative strength of the opposing factions. When the convention adjourned to meet at 7.30 p. m., it was evident that Butler was not the choice of the convention. Speculation was at fever heat as to what his course would be in the evening. None thought of his possible withdrawal; few contemplated his submission without a struggle, and all were prepared for an exciting and prolonged session. At the opening of the evening session, speculation was set at rest. General Butler arose, said he was satisfied that the majority of the delegates were against him, that he had no desire to hinder the work of the convention, reiterated his devotion to the Republican party, and withdrew his name. The following State ticket was thereupon nominated, without opposition:

Governor..... W. B. Washburn.
 Lieutenant-Governor..... Thomas Talbot.
 Attorney General..... Charles R. Train.
 Secretary of State..... Oliver Warner.
 Auditor..... Charles Endicott.
 Treasurer..... Charles Adams, jr.

The Hon. Charles Allen, of Boston, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the Republicans of Massachusetts emphatically disapprove of and condemn the action of those members of the last Congress, Republicans and Democrats, who availed themselves of the occasion of an increase of the salary of the President, and of the judges of the Supreme Court, and of the members of the Cabinet, supposed to be just and necessary for the future, to secure to themselves a disproportionate and extravagant compensation for past as well as future services.

Resolved, That while we recognize the full right of every citizen to express and act upon his convictions upon all questions of public interest, no person hold-

ing public office has the right to seek to influence the action of his subordinates by exciting their fear of loss of place if their opinions and actions shall differ from his own, and we call upon the President further to remove all public officers who have improperly interfered with the independence of the Republicans of Massachusetts in the management of their local concerns, whenever the fact is proved to their satisfaction.

Resolved, That the adoption of a policy which shall so reduce freights on railroads that the raw material, food, and coal of the West and South shall be exchanged at the least possible cost for the manufactures of New England, interesting the whole country, is vital to the industries of Massachusetts; that the power vested by the Constitution in Congress to regulate commerce between the States, includes jurisdiction over this great subject, and that we call upon Congress and our State Legislature to so exercise all their powers over railroads and all such monopolies.

Resolved, That every great achievement for personal liberty, for the preservation of the Union, for education, for the elevation of labor, for the elevation of woman, for the extension of the suffrage, which has been accomplished in this country for a generation, has been due to the Republican party; that while none of these great causes has anything to hope for in the future from any other source, while every new truth, every claim founded on justice will in the future, as in the past, find its earliest converts, its most generous recognition, its strongest advocates, and its first victories among the Republicans of Massachusetts; and that pressing duty of the day is to secure honesty and purity, the right of the people peaceably to assemble and take counsel on public matters and select their agents free from violence, intimidation, and fraud; the right to hold caucuses and conventions without being cheated and bullied; and we, therefore, call upon all honest Republicans, however they may differ on other questions, or howsoever they may have advanced in their reception of new ideas, to unite in purging the Commonwealth and the nation of violence, treachery, and corruption.

Resolved, That we demand such legislation on the hours of labor as will secure the ten-hour system for women and minors employed in the factories of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Republican party is the party of temperance, order, and law; that it favors the honest and impartial execution in good faith of all laws, espe-

cially those for the suppression of crime, intemperance, and disorder; that the character and details of such laws must be such as the people shall decide through their representatives chosen to the two branches of the Legislature, and when so determined, should be obeyed cheerfully by all law-abiding citizens, until repealed by the same authority.

Resolved, That the Republicans of Massachusetts look with pride upon the Republican administration of the Commonwealth, and recognize in their candidate for Governor, William B. Washburn, the same qualities of good sense, fidelity, and uprightness, the same watchfulness for the public interest and care for the public welfare which he has so conspicuously exhibited as one of our representatives in Congress, and we commend him and his associates upon the ticket this day nominated to the hearty support of the good people of the Commonwealth.

A supplementary resolution was adopted, providing that hereafter all meetings in cities for the election of delegates to the State convention shall be held by wards; that no delegates be admitted to the convention without credentials from the proper ward officers; that no one but Republican voters are entitled to vote for delegates to the State convention; that any ten Republican voters may demand the use of the check-list; and if, after such demand, the list is not used, delegates so chosen shall be refused seats in the hall of the convention by the committee.

After passing a resolution of thanks to Governor Bullock, the presiding officer, the convention adjourned *sine die*.

We have but few comments to make on the proceedings of the convention. We are gratified that what promised to be a stormy gathering met and adjourned with expressions of harmony. The action of General Butler in withdrawing his name was commendable, and has tended to disarm those of his opponents who prophesied that his failure to secure the nomination would be followed by a bolt from the party. The speech of Governor Bullock was an exceptional one for a political convention. We have so many speeches of the spread-eagle order, that we are prepared to relish one that is

replete with wholesome advice, friendly warnings, and honest criticism.

If the speech lacked the rose-color tint that the partisan applauds, it had in it what was far more valuable and rare—an earnest appeal to avoid those things which, experience proves, tend to corruption, and a more faithful adherence to those principles of honesty which are sure to elevate party and secure good government. During the heat of the canvass, it was freely charged by some of Mr. Washburn's friends, and by many Democratic papers, that the Administration was throwing its influence in favor of Mr. Butler. From time to time we have denied this, and now that the contest has closed, again place an emphatic denial on record. The Administration has carefully kept aloof from what it recognized as a purely personal contest. Friendly to both aspirants, it has neither favored the one nor opposed the other. We believe it to be true that General Butler had a greater support among the Federal office-holders in Massachusetts than Mr. Washburn, but they were active citizens of the State, and personal friends of the contestant, and, in supporting him, they but exercised the peculiar privilege which belongs to all citizens. Their choice was influenced by no request nor implied threats from the Administration. They acted in their individual capacity as citizens, not as representatives of Federal authority. It is but natural to suppose that a man like Mr. Butler, who is a hard worker when his friends are seeking appointment, will have active support from those friends when he is seeking State honors. To believe otherwise, would be to believe that office-holders are devoid of common gratitude.

We trust our friends in Massachusetts—if there be any who still think that General Butler had the active or passive influence of the Administration—will disabuse their minds on this point. It is a part of Democratic policy to leave the impression that Butler's defeat was a rebuke to the Administration. If Democracy could make any capital out of

it; the bursting of the *Graphic* balloon would be charged as a rebuke to the Administration; yet the failure of Wise to cross the ocean, and the failure of General Butler to secure the Governorship

of Massachusetts hold about equal relations to the Administration. Both the Professor and the General assumed the responsibility, and the failure to obtain what they wanted rests with them alone.

THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK.

The fall of the large banking-houses of Jay Cooke & Co. is, in one view of the event, a public calamity. It checks the progress towards completion of the great Northern Atlantic-Pacific thoroughfare, one of the most important enterprises of the age; it withdraws from banking-houses in the interior and Northwestern States, with which they were connected, the amounts falling due to these minor establishments, and necessary for their own local business. In its sudden and unexpected precipitancy, it alarms the financial world and causes a large amount of circulating capital to be suddenly withdrawn from its legitimate channels of circulation, sending other exhausted banking firms to the wall, suspending the operations on important public enterprises, and thus depriving contractors and their employés of work and wages.

These results will, however, prove to be only temporary. The houses of Jay Cooke & Co., it is believed in the best informed circles, will within a reasonable time be reëstablished with means to pay their indebtedness in full, and leave an ample surplus to carry on a legitimate business. They were the owners of an independent fortune of about \$15,000,000. This money has not been lost by stock gambling; it has not been destroyed; but it is locked up in a great enterprise, whose profits from earnings and the sale of lands are in the future. The railway company has not failed, nor should its bonds depreciate while it is sustained by a grant of 47,000,000 acres of valuable land, which have been for a number of years attracting to the Northwestern States a very valuable class of immigration from Northern Europe.

On the other hand, this sudden collapse will have a good effect in discovering to the public and forcing out of

the way those fictitious stock-gambling banking-houses which existed only to rob and ultimately ruin their victims, and lower the confidence of the public in legitimate and useful mediums of exchange and transfer of money and stocks.

None of the banks doing a regular business with the merchants have failed, either in New York or elsewhere. The Bank of the Commonwealth, in New York city, was crippled by its ex-president before the financial storm, and its failure cannot be attributed to the temporary excitement of the hour. Neither have the wholesale or retail merchants, or great or small manufacturing establishments, shown any signs of weakness or want of customers. The best authorities report the fall business to be unusually active in New York and other large centres. Only a few days ago the New York jobbers went to Fall River, and swept the warehouses of the manufacturers of all the goods they had on hand. In fact, manufacturing and mining enterprises were never more remunerative than at present, and both of these great sources of wealth show a development hitherto unprecedented, yet substantial, legitimate, and safe.

The crop reports show a large average yield; that of cotton alone being valued at \$30,000,000, while the demand abroad, according to present accounts, will be unusually large this year, and fully equal to all our surplus agricultural products.

Immigration continues to increase, and the classes of immigrants to improve, adding population and wealth to the sparsely settled sections of the country. And in further, forcible illustration of the prosperity of the people, it may be noted that during 1872 the enormous amount of £747,664 or \$3,748,320 were sent from America—nine-tenths

of it from the United States—to relatives in Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe, to enable them to come to America. One and a half million of dollars of this was sent in the shape of prepaid passages to the United States. Another point of significant importance, as indicating the prosperity and conservative tendency of the business of the country, is the fact that while our imports have been somewhat stationary during the last year, our exports have largely increased, and now nearly equal the imports, being between five and six hundred millions of dollars in value.

There is, in short, general prosperity throughout the country, and that of a permanent character; a prosperity upon which the fall of one or two colossal houses like those of Jay Cooke & Co. cannot have any permanent effect, but will serve rather to add to the stability of the national growth, by purifying the financial atmosphere, and increasing the public confidence in those establishments which prove their strength by resisting the financial storm. There is no parallel that would warrant a general crisis between the present prosperous condition of the country and the general prostration that preceded the crisis of 1824, or those disastrous times in 1837 and 1857. On those occasions our low tariff permitted the country to suffer under a surfeit of foreign goods, while our own manufactories and workshops were in a languishing condition, and many of them closed. Under these circumstances it wanted but the collapse of one or two establishments like those of Jay Cooke & Co. to upset the entire catalogue of banks, force the mercantile community into bankruptcy, shut up our manufactories, and throw millions of workmen out of employment. To-day we can see the colossal houses of the hitherto most substantial firms fall with a crash as unexpected as a thunderbolt from a clear sky, carrying down their branches and immediate connections with them, and yet move on as if nothing had occurred to disturb the public confidence.

THE DOORS ARE OPEN.—If anything can touch our sympathy, it is the sight of an honest Democrat struggling to shield the rascality of his party behind his own respectability. We feel like taking the deluded man aside, and telling him that his efforts will be love's labor lost. But we have tried the experiment so many times that we have concluded to let the faithful follower of Democracy pursue its shadow until he gets tired, and stops of his own accord. When he drops from sheer exhaustion then we shall pick him up, advise him calmly, and do our best to help him across the threshold of the Republican party. There are thousands of honest men still left in the Democratic party. They live in hopes of seeing it once more restored to its Jeffersonian days. They refuse to believe it lost beyond redemption, and so cling to its sinking fortunes, in hopes that something will turn up to bring about the radical change they desire. They forget that the days of miracles have past; that the elements of power, honesty, and patriotism, which once imparted glory to Democracy, have long since departed from the old shell, and are found to-day imparting vigor and purity to the Republican party. Occasionally this fact dawns upon some honest, well-intentioned Democrat, and he makes haste to enrol himself under the banner that represents his old-time principles. There is still room for more. The doors of our party are continually open, and all who believe in justice, equality, and an honest administration of the Government, are invited to enter. We have but little room for office-hunters, but for the men who desire to labor for the good of the nation, we have some reserved seats in the temple of Republicanism.

THE signs are promising for a brilliant victory in Pennsylvania. We hope that the overwhelming majority of last year will not induce Republicans to remain away from the polls under the impression that their votes are not needed. Every available vote must be brought to bear on the enemy.

FINANCIAL DISASTERS.

The suspension of Jay Cooke & Co., Fisk, Hatch & Co., and a few other firms, whose reputation for honesty and fair-dealing had become established throughout the world, has excited universal regret. The name of Jay Cooke had been, for a number of years, a tower of strength among the capitalists of the land. When the Government needed money, and the banks of the nation were slow to respond to its wants, he came forward, and by his large faith in the justice of our cause, and his wonderful energy, perfected a system for placing bonds upon the market, which soon popularized Government loans and brought offers from the people of more than the Government needed to carry on its extensive operations. True, the patriotism of the people and their determination to stand by the Government were the prime causes of that marvellous confidence displayed during the war; but to Jay Cooke has been accorded—and we think justly—the honor and credit of awakening this confidence at a time when it lay dormant and inactive. It is possible that his wonderful success in placing Government bonds upon the market begat within him a confidence in his own individuality which eventually led to his suspension. His connection with the Northern Pacific railroad as its financial agent gave to the bonds of that road a higher value than they before possessed. Confidence was established in their security, and for a time it seemed that the same plan, by the same firm, that had popularized the Government loans would meet with equal success in placing the bonds of the Pacific road on the market. A combination of unfortunate circumstances appears to have defeated the efforts of Jay Cooke & Co. A popular feeling in favor of railroads has suddenly changed to one as popular against them. The irregularities in the construction of the Central Pacific, developed by the Credit Mobilier investigation, gave impetus to a revulsion which had commenced before the investigation took place. The movement of the farm-

ers in the West, the strong combinations formed by the people against railroad interests, the probability of hostile legislation, interfering with their charters or their management—all tended to turn capital seeking investment into other and safer channels. Added to this, the Northern Pacific was probably crippled by the recent events in Canada, which have transformed the Canadian Pacific railway from a friendly road, connecting with the eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific road, into a rival road, running parallel with the Northern Pacific. It was probably in the interest of the Northern Pacific road that American capital, to a large amount, was put into the construction of the Canadian line.

It was believed that the American interest, if not a controlling one, would at least influence the road to make its western terminus at or near the eastern terminus of the American road on Lake Superior. This would form a direct line from the Pacific to Montreal and Quebec. But recent investigations have prejudiced the Canadians against this arrangement, and in obedience to a popular clamor the American directors have been thrown overboard, their plans for a connection with the Northern Pacific changed, and the original project for a Canadian road to the Pacific revived for immediate execution. The prospect of having a line brought in near competition with its own, and both running at a loss through an unsettled country, has no doubt had a depressing effect upon the sale of Northern Pacific bonds. But the confidence of Jay Cooke in this road seemed as great as his former confidence in the stability of the Union. The road was being pressed forward towards completion. Large advances were being made for its construction. Experience in the sale of bonds had appeared to justify these advances. If the sales fell off one month they would revive the next, and reimburse the firm for advances made. To stop building the road would shake the public confidence in it. To

go on, and trust to the sale of bonds to pay expenses, appeared the only alternative between the failure of the road on the one hand and the suspension of the firm on the other.

Jay Cooke could have saved himself at an earlier day by sacrificing his trust, but he appears to have clung to it with chivalric courage and gone down in a laudable effort to complete a worthy enterprise. What the effect of his suspension will be on the bonds of the Pacific road it is at the present time impossible to tell. If capital can be found to continue the road the bonds will be as good as ever. The land grant to the road covers over 47,000,000 acres, a large portion of this being located in the finest grain-raising section of the Northwest. We trust that the firm of Jay Cooke & Co., and all others that have been forced to suspend on account of over-confidence in enterprises which, when completed, must add to our national wealth, will soon be able to resume their business without material loss to themselves or their friends, and that the Northern Pacific road will find other men of wealth and energy to prosecute a work which, from its national character and importance, ought not to be neglected because of the embarrassment of its strongest friend.

HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR., GOVERNOR-ELECT OF MAINE.—Nelson Dingley, jr., who has just been chosen Governor of Maine by the handsome Republican majority of about eleven thousand, was born in Durham, Androscoggin county, Me., February 15, 1832, and is therefore 41 years of age. A year later his parents removed to Parkman, Piscataquis county, and in 1838 to Unity, Waldo county, where they lived till 1854. The son attended the village schools, and spent the vacations in the store and on the farm of his father. In spare moments in the store he read all the standard histories and other works; indeed, here it was that all the *solid* reading of his youthful days was laid up in store for future efforts in the educational field. In early youth he was deeply interested

in political affairs; at the age of 16 organized a section of the Cadets of Temperance in Unity village, in which he took an active part. From that time to the present he has always taken a prominent part in all movements to further the temperance cause. He entered Waterville Academy at the age of 17, where he was fitted for college, under J. H. Hanson; in 1851, at 19, entered Waterville College, (now Colby University,) remaining there a year and a half, and then went to Dartmouth, where he graduated in the class of 1855, taking high rank as a scholar, writer, and debater; studied law in the office of Morrill and Fessenden, at Auburn, Androscoggin county, where his parents had removed, and was admitted to the bar; while studying law, wrote political articles for the *Lewiston Journal* that attracted marked attention, made occasional political addresses, and took a deep interest in the success of the principles of the Republican party, to which he had attached himself on becoming a voter. In 1856 he became one of the proprietors and sole editor of the *Lewiston Journal*, and a year later sole proprietor. Under his control the *Journal* at once took a leading position among the Republican newspapers of Maine, and rapidly attained a wide circulation and influence. Mr. Dingley still retains his connection with the *Journal*, having a younger brother (Frank L.) associated with him. He has had an extensive legislative experience. In 1861 he was elected to the Maine House of Representatives from Auburn, and being reelected in 1862, was chosen Speaker of the House at the session of 1863. In 1863, having removed across the river to Lewiston, he was elected to the House from that city, and was reelected Speaker at the session of 1864. He was reelected to the House in 1865, but chose to take a position on the floor at this session, although offered the position of Speaker. He was also reelected to the House from Lewiston in 1867 and 1872. In the House last winter he was the acknowledged leader on the Republican side, and occupied

prominent positions on important committees. Mr. Dingley is a ready debator, polished and gentlemanly in his style, incisive and logical in his arguments. He was this year nominated as Republican candidate for Governor by an overwhelming majority, and elected by the largest majority ever given in a year that has been allowed to pass without a hot political canvass. Keenly alive to all the wants of the State in her varied interests; a gentleman interested in the religious and moral movements of the age; of high character, sterling honesty, and acknowledged ability, Mr. Dingley will prove to be a most successful chief magistrate.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.—The State legislatures or the General Government must adopt some stringent measures to prevent the startling frequency of railroad disasters. Accidents will happen, in spite of the best regulated system to prevent them, but their occurrence will be rare, and seldom chargeable to carelessness. Nearly every railroad accident which has been reported of late is directly traceable to the recklessness of the employés of the roads. This recklessness is encouraged by lax discipline, want of system, and proper regulation on the part of the companies themselves.

Where trains are run on single tracks the utmost vigilance should be required. All stations should be connected by telegraph, and the movement of trains should be governed by electricity. When a train reaches a station, a telegram should be sent to the next station ahead, and the train should be compelled to remain until an answer is received that the road is clear. The notification and answer would require but a few minutes. Express trains, running long distances, should know by telegram from each station the exact condition of the road, and the locality and movement of trains. A system of this character would beget discipline, and this would lead to accuracy, which would prevent accident. When a train has the right of track, before it leaves a station it should know,

beyond a possibility of doubt, that the track, to its next stopping place, has no train upon it—either coming towards it or going from it. With this certainty, an accident by collision would be an impossibility. Single tracks may be a necessity on some branch roads, but their construction should be discouraged wherever possible, and their management at all times should be governed by the strictest regulations. A better system of time-keeping should be adopted. Every station should have a reliable clock, and this should be regulated daily by the home office. At twelve o'clock daily, a signal should be sent along the whole line, and every clock should be set accordingly. Some roads have already adopted this system of telegraphic regulation of the time, but all roads should be compelled to practice it. Every conductor, engineer, or other subordinate officer who depends upon correct time, should be required to have a reliable watch, and, on arrival at a station, both the conductor and engineer should be required to compare their watches with the station clock, and if there is a difference in time, a telegram should be sent to the home office, and a reply awaited to determine where the fault lies. If with the station, the clock should be at once inspected, replaced by a correct one, if wrong, and if right, the station agent should be held to a strict accountability for not regulating his clock at the proper time. By this system exact time would be secured on the different roads, and the variation of a watch in possession of an engineer or conductor could not be plead as an excuse for a smash-up and loss of life.

In the employment of officials, from the highest to the lowest, none but first-class men, according to their grades, should be engaged. Especially is this necessary in regard to engineers and conductors. The lives of thousands of passengers are entrusted to their care, and depend upon their fidelity and correctness. They should be well paid, and should be required to observe the rules of the company to the letter. They

should never hazard a life on a doubt. If a doubt exists as between danger and safety, the latter should always have the benefit of it. Men given to the use of liquor should not be employed. We would not exact the signing of a pledge from the employes of a road, but we would not keep a man in a responsible position who made a daily practice of drinking liquor. A clear head and a love for whisky are seldom combined in the same individual. The adoption of these or similar suggestions by the railroad companies, or their embodiment in some legislative enactment, would effectually prevent the repetition of the disasters which have shocked the public of late.

PANICS.—Panics, like extensive conflagrations, have small beginnings. A spark has within it the power to lay in ashes the largest city. If fed by combustible material, it soon becomes a flame, before which iron melts and granite crumbles into dust. So with panics. Words of suspicion are the sparks that lead to financial conflagrations. Distrust is breathed from one to another; instead of being quieted by calm advice, it is fed by popular excitement. Those who have least to lose are the loudest in their croakings over coming failures. A rush is made to sacrifice stock that is both profitable and safe; it is thrown upon the market along with fancy and worthless stock. A sense of insecurity seizes the buyer, and the result is, no sales, or ruinous sacrifices of stock that only needed the restoration of confidence to be worth more than ever. When a fire breaks out, efforts are made to confine it within its original limits. But the breaking out of distrust in a community is the signal, not for united efforts to confine it within its legitimate bounds, or its suppression, but for a general rush to feed the flame by gossip, ill-omened prophecy, or groundless rumors of some undefinable calamity. A rumor starts, affecting the financial standing of some bank official. It matters little whether it be true or false; the whisper is soon

transformed into a storm. A sudden run is made upon the bank; then upon other banks, until the whole community is in a ferment of excitement. If the banks have facilities for prompt conversion of securities into cash, the storm may blow over; but if distrust is widespread, money is locked up or held for self-protection, and banks that are perfectly sound are driven by sheer necessity to suspend payment. No reasonable man can expect a banker to pay interest on deposits and keep those deposits locked in his safe, ready to be returned without a moment's notice; yet men who claim to be reasonable act at times as if they thought this to be the case. Banks pay interest upon money, because they can loan the money received for a higher rate of interest than they pay. They take securities for money loaned. To convert these into money requires time; and those having deposits should be considerate enough to grant it. The best bank in the country may be forced to suspend payment in the face of an unexpected and unreasonable demand, especially if popular excitement has so unsettled values as to render the conversion of securities into cash almost impossible. Panics should be stopped at the moment of their inception. Men of ability and judgment should unite to quiet popular distrust. Confidence should be strengthened by every legitimate means. Depositors, unless they have good reasons for demanding payment, should assist, rather than cripple, the bank whose credit and standing they depend upon. Exceptional cases of failure may occur at any time, but a panic, such as recently swept over the financial centres of the country, ought to be an impossibility. We trust that the press of the land will exert its powerful influence towards maintaining a healthy state of public confidence.

THE "GRAPHIC" BALLOON.—The *Graphic* balloon has come to grief. Like the Democratic party, its material was too rotten to hold the gas needed for its inflation. Its prospects were brilliant—

on paper. It was to cross the ocean in sixty hours; stop a few days in Europe; again enter the eastern current and continue its course around the globe, returning to the United States, by way of California. But this great achievement must be postponed. The balloon burst before it was fully inflated, and the hopes of its friends exploded with the gas it contained. Like the Liberal Reform movement, it promised too much. There was too much gas and too little substance about it. If the balloon had gone up it would have burst in mid-air, or given the Professor and his staff a cold bath in the Atlantic. So, in a humane point of view, we are glad that this foolish enterprise ended where it commenced. Its failure may be useful as a lesson to those erratic politicians who think they can inflate a party with gas and sail into power on the current of public opinion. For a few years to come we advise our friends who wish to cross the ocean to avoid this aerial trip and patronize the staunch steamers that move in the face of wind or tide. Air ships may be constructed in time to travel like birds through space, but to depend upon a current of air to waft you across the ocean is to expect a log thrown overboard at Sandy Hook to make the trip to Liverpool. We have as little faith in these inflated air-ships of the *Graphic* pattern as we have in the honest intentions of Democracy. They may do to gull the public, but for practical results they are equally deceptive and treacherous.

THE OHIO ELECTION.—Our friends in Ohio are sanguine of a brilliant victory at the approaching election. We believe their faith is well-founded, and that Governor Noyes and the entire State ticket will be elected by a handsome majority. The Republican party has an excellent record in the State of Ohio. Its choice of men has been most fortunate, not a dollar of the State funds having been lost through the defalcation or dishonesty of Republican officials. The State has good reasons for being proud of a party that has served it so faithfully and

well. The Democrats have used their political capital to the best advantage, and with a candidate for governor of considerable personal popularity, they will make a stubborn fight for power and place. But their cause is hopeless. A full Republican vote ought to give us the State by at least 30,000 majority. As this is the off-year in politics, it will probably fall below this, but we call upon our friends to exert themselves to bring out every vote that can be reached. To be over-confident, is to invite defeat; to labor as if a single vote was to decide the contest is to secure a brilliant triumph. The Democrats have been bidding high for the colored vote, and have brought over a few of the discontented ones in our ranks. In Virginia the Democrats have made the issue on the old-fashioned Democratic grounds. They believe that none but white Virginians should hold office; they express unqualified hostility to the colored element, and show a degree of fairness in allowing no doubts on this point. But in Ohio, where they need the help of this colored element, they invite its hearty coöperation, and hold out the most promising inducements. This seems to be the Democratic policy throughout the country. Where old prejudices can help the party, they are appealed to; where they tend to cripple it, by alienating from it a large voting element, they carefully avoid them, and in their place put forth the hypocritical plea that the party has accepted the situation in good faith. But the colored voter shuns Democracy as he would the slave-pen. A few may be found to trade away their principles for money or promise of place, but ninety-nine out of a hundred stand as true to the old colors as when the party of freedom struck off the chains of slavery and bid the nation arise to greet the dawn of universal liberty. Republicans of Ohio, a few days are left for organization and work! Let the bugle be sounded, calling every man to his post. Let none be absent when the general advance is ordered, and the triumph will be as complete as the cause is just.

SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.—Hon. Felix R. Brunot, special commissioner under act of Congress, April 23, 1872, to negotiate with the Utes, accompanied by Thomas K. Cree, secretary, and Dr. Phillips, Spanish interpreter, arrived at the Los Pinos agency, Colorado, September 5. The agency is located in the Cochetopa range of mountains, 250 miles west of Denver, and was only reached after five days' journey in a carriage. The Utes had been waiting the arrival of the commissioners for some two weeks. The Labé-quanche, Denver, Muache, and Capote Utes were represented in council. There were special difficulties in the way of a successful negotiation, surveying parties representing the General Government, the military and the Territory being on the reservation in violation of previous agreement, running lines according to which certain parts of the reserve were excluded as such, causing much ill-feeling among the Indians; in addition to which the annuity goods shipped from New York June 1 had not yet reached the agency, and the distribution which the commission hoped to make at the council could not thererore be made. The council lasted several days, and the result was the ceding to the Government by the Indians of all the mining country, some 3,000,000 acres, being most of the land lying between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth degrees of latitude and the one hundred and seventh and one hundred and ninth degrees of longitude, except a narrow strip on the southern side, on which many of the Utes had farms. On this it is proposed to gather the Wenninches, Muache and Capote Utes, and a portion of the Jicarilla Apaches, now at Tierra Aenavilla and Cimarron agencies, New Mexico. This arrangement disposes of the two troublesome sub-agencies, and gathers these wandering bands of Utes upon this reservation. The price for the land is to be given mostly for the support of the new agency, and for those Indians for whom there has been heretofore no regular provision made by the Govern-

ment. The part ceded is rich in mines of gold and silver, some four hundred mines and some valuable machinery being now upon the reservation. One company at work upon the part ceded is taking out \$1,000 per day in silver ore. The Utes have always been friendly to the whites, and for the past two years have permitted miners and prospectors to wander almost at will over their reservation, although the treaty expressly stipulates that the Government will prevent all whites from going upon the reservation. The arrangement with the Utes is not a treaty, but only an article of agreement entered into in accordance with an act of Congress authorizing the negotiation. This is the agreement which Governor McCooke's commission tried to make last year, but failed. It is a second successful negotiation for a cession of Indian lands to the Government made out by Mr. Brunot this year.

TEXAS.—The campaign in this State is one of great interest, the Republicans standing squarely on a progressive platform which fully recognizes the logic of events, and is in full harmony with the sentiments and aspirations of the National Republican party. The Democracy, here as elsewhere in the South, are fighting for the lost cause, for a white man's government, for the exploded theory of State rights. They may be said to have the negative side on all the real issues of the contest, whilst the Republicans have boldly assumed the affirmative, which is well stated by Governor Davis, the Republican nominee, in his speech accepting the nomination, in the following words:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Your committee has informed me of the honor the Republican party, through you, has again done me by a nomination to the office of Governor. I thank you for this expression of your kind feelings towards me, and here accept the nomination. With the assistance of the Almighty, and with your encouragement, I hope to march with you to success in the coming canvass. If reëlected, I expect to work for the good of the whole people of Texas, to promote the welfare of the State at large, and to be the Governor of

all without regard to party, but of course as a Republican, and with the purpose of carrying on the Government in conformity with the policy of that party. Life and property must be protected; internal improvements must be encouraged, with proper safeguards thrown around them to secure the rights of the people; public schools must be reestablished; the faith of our State maintained and our obligations fairly and squarely met; no repudiation of legal obligations to be indulged in or allowed to stain our record; we must encourage immigration; equal rights must be secured to all without regard to political or religious creed, color, race, or previous condition; especially must we pledge ourselves that the Government shall be honestly and economically conducted.

"In the future, as in the past, some of you will probably be found disagreeing with me as to the measures necessary to secure these objects, but this demonstration assures me that however this may be, you will in any event accord me sincerity of purpose."

A DEMOCRATIC DODGE.—In certain sections of the country where the Patrons of Husbandry hold the balance of power there seems to be a growing tendency to convert the order into one of a political character. The temptation to form a new party which shall represent a leading interest, and unite a powerful class against smaller and weaker ones, is both strong and natural, and to resist it demands the highest order of patriotism. We have large sympathy for the farmers' movement, and believe that by proper management it can greatly benefit the interest which it was formed to protect. Its founders saw the dangers which the introduction of politics would cause, and wisely excluded its presence from the order. We are glad to know that the prevailing sentiment of the granges is against the movement now on foot by certain designing men to use the order for political purposes. Its best friends see in this movement the defeat of its principal objects, and the early dissolution of the order itself. Whatever tends to weaken the Republican party as a national power, takes from it the ability to bring about the reforms which the farmers of the West stand in need of. To break away from that party, and form

another on purely class grounds, may for a time insure local advantages, but these will be purchased at the expense of greater advantages, which must of necessity be national in their character. Cheaper transportation to the seaboard, and to the markets of the East, is one of the necessities of the hour. It affects all sections of the country, and to bring it about requires the united efforts of the representatives of all branches of industry. The Republican party is fully alive to the importance of opening new outlets for Western production, and has already taken steps to secure them at an early day. To cripple the party by withdrawing from it enough strength to throw the election into the hands of the Democracy would be to imperil the best interests of the West. We cannot but regard this movement towards the formation of a third party as nothing more nor less than a Democratic dodge, having for its object the disruption of the Republican party by a division in its ranks. Every Republican farmer in the West should be on his guard against the seductive influences of those politicians who assure them that nothing but a farmers' ticket can secure the relief they demand. If the farmers hold the balance of power in any State, they have it within their power to elect men who shall represent their interests. This can be done through the Republican party without in the least weakening its power. We sincerely hope that the Republican farmers everywhere will frown down all attempts to nominate a class ticket. It will lead to organization of other interests against them, and defeat the project now on foot for their relief. If they want to be felt in politics let them be more active in the ranks of the party, and seek the nomination of men who will truly represent them in the State and national councils.

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We trust that our friends in those States holding elections in October will make the best use of the time left for active work. One week of hard work will place the result beyond a shadow of doubt.

GOVERNOR NOYES' OPENING SPEECH.

We present herewith a small portion of the comprehensive and statesmanlike speech with which Governor Noyes opened the ensuing campaign, at Athens, Ohio, August 25. The Governor speaks with just pride of the honest and economical administration of State affairs since the Republicans have had control of the State government for upwards of seventeen years. He alludes to the fact that last winter a legislative committee, of which General W. H. Ball, a leading Democrat, was chairman, was appointed to investigate the conduct of all State officials, and which took the testimony of upwards of a hundred witnesses, and that this committee reported unamiably that the affairs of the State were conducted with sterling integrity. The committee said:

"The examination has taken a wide range. One hundred and nine witnesses, residing in various parts of the State, have been subpoenaed and examined touching public contracts and expenditures, construction of public buildings, conduct of public institutions, &c. All matters, without reference to the date of their occurrence, coming to the knowledge of the committee, that seemed to promise any probability of throwing any light upon the subjects of inquiry or any of them, have been diligently inquired into.

"Your committee take pleasure in reporting that, so far as elective officers and their subordinates are concerned, very commendable honesty and fidelity have been observed; and that in the official conduct of no public officer, whether elective or appointive, has corruption been disclosed."

During the time covered by this investigation, continued the Governor, the Republican party collected and disbursed ninety millions of dollars, every dollar honestly and faithfully, without fraud or peculation; and no public officer unlawfully profited by tampering with or betraying his trust.

Now, I ask you, my fellow-citizens, if such a record as this, acknowledged and published to the world by an intelligent committee, acting under their solemn oaths, and composed in large part of the ablest and most bitterly partisan among our political opponents, is not such as

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to commend the Republican Administration to the confidence and good will of all men who desire honest and faithful conduct on the part of public officials? If General Ball's report is true, can you change for the better in the name of reform? Is it not fair to ask that our party be continued in authority until, in some particular, it proves unfaithful to the public trust and the interests of the people?

Upon the question of cheap transportation Governor Noyes speaks not like a demagogue, anxious to increase agitation and dissatisfaction, but like a statesman, conscious of the great responsibilities resting upon him. We quote thus liberally, not merely on account of the intrinsic merits of his suggestions, and the honest and non-partisan manner in which he treats the great subjects, but principally to show that the great leaders of the Republican party are fully capable to adjust these new questions arising out of the further development of our national life.

Governor Noyes is not merely fighting the battle in his own State, but the circulation of his arguments and suggestions in the West will also be attended with happy results. From our personal knowledge of the worth, intelligence, and political acumen of the citizens of the Buckeye State, we predict for him an endorsement by an overwhelming majority.

RAILROADS AND THE FARMERS.

Governor Noyes continued:

There is a widespread feeling existing throughout the West and Northwest among the producing masses that railroad corporations, by the consolidation of capital, by combination of management and the centralization of authority, are exercising for their own advantage an undue and pernicious influence upon the business interests of the country. This feeling is less prominent in Ohio than in the great grain-growing States further west, for the reason that we are rapidly becoming a manufacturing State, that we are nearer the great markets, and that we have several competing lines of railroad leading to the East. But there is dissatisfaction among the people of Ohio.

From H. V. Poor's "Railroad Manual for 1873-4," I gather the following summary of statistics, detailed statements of 425 roads being given in that work. In the United States there are—

Miles of railway.....	57,323
Cost.....	\$3,159,723,057
Cost per mile.....	55,116
Gross receipts.....	473,241,055
Operating expenses.....	307,486,682
Net earnings.....	165,754,373
Dividends paid.....	64,718,151

Total number of miles in operation 67,104, of which 6,427 were built last year. Some made no returns; others refuse information. The total earnings are \$11,000,000 more than the receipts in the United States Treasury, and the net earnings \$48,000,000 more than the Government interest account. The total cost is \$900,000,000 more than the national debt. Thirty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty-four miles have been built since 1863.

This statement is startling, and indicates the power which, by united effort, could be exerted in our State and nation. It is well known that certain great railroad combinations have for years controlled the legislation of several States in all matters affecting railroad property and the profits thereof. It is feared that this influence is becoming more and more extended and more potent; and that, unless speedily checked, it will endanger the permanent welfare and prosperity of our whole population. I confess I do not share in the apprehension entertained by some, that railroads and their officers, or any other aggregations of wealth and talent, are likely to subvert or materially endanger the liberties of our people. Injustice and exaction will be tolerated until they reach a certain point, and then the evil will be swept away with a relentless purpose and a strong hand. In a country and under a government like ours, the people are patient of extortion and wrong only until it presses hard upon them; when once aroused, they throw off their burdens with determination and vigor.

Railroads and all other corporations are the creatures of legislation, deriving their privileges from the people, and responsible to the people that the rights so acquired shall be used for the accommodation and benefit of the public. The contract implied in a grant to, and acceptance of, a charter by a railroad corporation is, that in return for special privileges, it shall so use its authority as to promote the comfort, convenience, and material prosperity of the people that grants the charter, namely, the people. If the railroad company seeks to violate this agreement, it would be

strange, indeed, if there were no authority, anywhere, to restrict and control it. That such power exists I have no manner of doubt. Our trouble has been, and is likely to be, not so much with local roads, having their termini within the limits of a single State, as with the through trunk-lines, extending far across the country, and holding charters from a number of State legislatures. What is everybody's business is nobody's. As no one State can control the whole line, no one attempts to control any part; and so the railroads do as they please, without let or hindrance. In the first place, I have no doubt that Congress, under the authority to regulate commerce between the States, has full and ample power to fix rates of transportation, and to make such other regulations as the courts of justice would pronounce fair and equitable, under the contract implied by the charter. In my judgment, therefore, the simplest, and probably the most satisfactory way, to remedy the evils complained of would be to have the whole matter disposed of by Congressional enactment. Mr. Shellabarger, of this State, introduced such a measure into the last Congress, and when the Ohio Legislature was asked to strengthen his hands by resolutions favoring the bill, the Democratic members put themselves solidly against it.

But it might happen that Congress would fail in this duty, under influences such as have been known heretofore sometimes to affect Congressmen. What then? In such case, undoubtedly the State legislatures which granted the charters would have power to provide a remedy. It is certainly a matter within the province of the people to elect such members of the State legislature and of Congress as can be trusted to do their whole duty, and with intelligence enough to know what that duty is. If the people themselves are careless or indifferent as to the character of those they elect to represent them, they have no right to complain.

One cause of dissatisfaction has been the lack of uniformity in the rates of transportation. Many railroads are accustomed to transport passengers and freight for long distances, between their termini, at a much less rate per mile than is charged for intermediate points. The reason is obvious: Between the distant points there is generally, in such cases, competition, and consequent cutting of rates to secure business. The rivalry is often so great as to leave no margin for profits, over and above running expenses. In order, therefore, to secure dividends for the stockholders,

this loss has to be made up by excessive charges for shorter distances, and between points where there are no competing lines. This evil ought to be remedied.

But in my judgment there is a greater wrong than this—I mean the little Credit Mobilier organizations inside the railroad corporations, composed wholly or for the most part of the officers of the company, who, under the name of fast freight lines, or other designation, contract with themselves, realize enormous profits, and enrich themselves at the expense of the stockholders or the public, or both. Such organizations ought, if possible, to be prohibited by law, and the officers of railroad companies should be prevented from speculating out of the trust positions they occupy at the expense of the people, who are at their mercy.

Among the ways proposed to secure cheap transportation is the opening up of the great national highways—the rivers and the lakes—these being improved and connected, where necessary, by canals. The improvement of the Ohio and its tributaries is certainly worthy of our efforts. Whether a grand canal, or system of water communication, reaching to the ocean, would bring to us in Ohio a return equal to the cost, has yet to be demonstrated.

There should be no indiscriminate and wild crusade against railroads. They should be encouraged, and allowed fair compensation for the capital invested, and the risks encountered. They have been, and will continue to be, of incalculable benefit to our people. They should simply not be permitted to abuse their privileges, or to oppress those they were intended to assist. What would the great State of Ohio have been to-day without the introduction of railroads? We want more, and must have them. We are all anxiously waiting for the completion of that grand enterprise, the Cincinnati-Southern railroad, which is to open up for our farmers, mechanics, and merchants the ready markets of the South, now completely cut off from us. The products of our coal fields and iron mountains must be brought nearer to purchasers anxious to buy. Our rapidly increasing and swift-growing towns and cities must be put in easy communication with the trade centers. The farmers in the agricultural districts must be able to reach with their produce the mechanics in the town. As the cities grow, the country thrives. The most reliable of all markets is the home market, and it will not be many years before the Ohio farmer can sell all he raises, at fair and

remunerative prices, within the limit of his own State. We already import wheat for home consumption. Soon we shall want corn and other articles of food. Not many years hence the question with us will be, not where the farmer shall find a market, and how he shall get there at cheap rates of transportation, but how shall we increase production to supply the local demand? The science of agriculture will be studied and practiced until the earth shall yield her bounties fourfold to the thrifty, intelligent, prosperous, and happy laborers in the fields. There is no war between the farmer and the mechanic; there ought to be no conflict between capital and labor. Each should help the other, that all might prosper together.

FARMERS' CLUBS.

Politicians have looked with more or less concern upon the organization of farmers' clubs in the Western States, lest by some possibility they may hereafter be used for or against some aspiring statesman. I am free to say I can see no reason why such associations should not be formed. We have legal and medical, ministerial and trade associations, and why not farmers' as well? I have confidence that the agriculturists are as sensible as other people, and I do not believe they can be used by designing men for personal ends, or for any purpose other than for their own and the public good. Worthy and reputable public men need not fear their influence. If only bad men are retired by their action, no harm will be done. By well-organized and proper associations, intelligent farmers can impart valuable information to their neighbors. When any important interest requires an advocate, the ablest representative can be selected to present the case. There is no reason why such organizations should degenerate into political machines any more than in the case of lawyers, doctors, and clergymen. The farmers and mechanics of Ohio will soon have their own college, open and free to all, where their sons can be educated for lives of usefulness—either for the occupations of their fathers, or for any other honorable avocation in life. As the means of knowledge multiply, we hope and believe the standard of intelligence will be elevated, and that prosperity and happiness will abound in proportion to the privileges enjoyed.

It is gratifying to know that the value of farming lands in Ohio has increased more than 200 per cent. in the last ten years. The value of the farm products amounts to \$200,000,000 annually. I see it estimated that at present one-

half the amount raised is exported, bringing a return to the farmer of about seven per cent. on his investment, exclusive of rent and subsistence. This, to be sure, does not equal the exceptional profits in some other kinds of business, but on the other hand, it is not subject to the risks which always attend upon employments of capital when great returns are sometimes realized. I believe the farmers of Ohio are contented and happy. I trust the future has in store for them increased rewards for their labor, abundant returns for their investments, multiplied comforts, and unexampled prosperity.

VALUE OF THE FARMING INTEREST.

The present cash value of the farms of Ohio is set down at \$1,054,465,226; the value of the farming implements at \$25,692,787; the wages paid, including value of board, amounts to \$16,480,778; the annual value of all farming productions is \$198,256,907; orchard products, \$5,843,679; produce of market gardens, \$1,289,272; the number of acres improved is 14,469,133, woodland 6,883,575 acres; unimproved, other than woodland, only 359,712 acres.

It will be seen that almost our entire State, except the necessary woodland, is now under cultivation. As I before remarked, it will, ere many years, be necessary to largely increase production, in order to supply the home demand. The prospect for our farmers is hopeful and cheering.

MATTERS ABOUT WHICH ALL PARTIES AGREE.

There are certain matters about which all parties agree. It is agreed that there ought to be rigid economy in the administration of affairs; that taxes ought to be reduced as much as the current expenses of the Government, the interest account, and a reasonable reduction of the public debt will permit; that there should be honesty and efficiency in every department; that our public lands should be reserved for actual settlers.

BACK SALARY.

And there is no difference of opinion as to the character of that legislation, by which Congressmen not only increased their future compensation one-half, but also provided for back pay at the same rate. Both Democratic and the Republican platforms condemn this action in unmistakable terms. There is but one sentiment regarding it among the people. A repeal of the law is demanded. Now, my friends, it is sometimes fair to hold that party responsible for legislation which has a majority in

the legislative body. Sometimes this is unfair, as I will endeavor to show. Suppose there were two hundred members of Congress, one hundred and one Republicans and ninety-nine Democrats, and two Republicans voted with the ninety-nine Democrats to secure the passage of a bill, would the Republican party then be responsible? Yet they had in the case supposed a majority of the members. Let us now consider for a moment the vote by which the back salary measure became a law.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR BACK SALARY LAW.

In the Senate it was as follows:

Republican Senators for the bill.....	23
Republican Senators against the bill.....	21
Democratic Senators for the bill.....	13
Democratic Senators against the bill.....	6
Republican outgoing Senators for the bill.....	5
Democratic outgoing Senators for the bill.....	5
Southern Senators for the bill.....	26
Northern Senators for the bill.....	10
Southern Senators against the bill.....	3
Northern Senators against the bill.....	24

In the House of Representatives as follows:

Republican Representatives for the bill.....	52
Republican Representatives against the bill.....	62
Democratic Representatives for the bill.....	50
Democratic Representatives against the bill.....	33
Outgoing members, D. and R., for the bill.....	55
Southern Republicans for the bill.....	24
Southern Democrats for the bill.....	30

The united vote of both Houses was—

Republican members and Senators for the bill....	75
Republican members and Senators against the bill. 83	
Democratic members and Senators for the bill.....	63
Democratic members and Senators against the bill 39	
Outgoing Senators and members for the bill.....	65
Southern Senators and members for the bill.....	80

It will be noticed that a large proportion of the affirmative vote came from the South, and that the percentage of Democrats was very much larger than that of Republicans. Of the Ohio delegation three out of six Democrats in the House were in favor of the bill, while only three out of thirteen Republicans voted for it, and one of these vigorously opposed it till the last moment, and only voted for it then to save the appropriation bill, to which it was attached, and for which he was responsible. Not a single Democratic member of the House from Ohio has covered his back pay into the Treasury, while a very considerable number of the Republican members have already done so.

DEMOCRATIC TESTIMONY.

Judge Van Trump, as you all know, an able and conspicuous Democratic member of Congress from this State, in a letter to his constituents, explaining his action on the salary bill, says:

"I had voted steadily and uniformly against the measure, without hesitation

or shadow of turning, *although a majority of my party voted the other way.*

* * * * *

"And yet, as applied to the salary question alone, I do not speak of it as party capital. As a party question it remains at rest; a majority of the Democrats, if the Southern members can be classed as strict Democrats, voted for it. Without their aid, coupled with the Northern Democrats, who united with them, it could not have been carried."

In describing the manner of taking one of the test votes, Judge Van Trump continues:

"This vote was taken amidst the wild-est excitement in the House. It was manifest, from the way in which the vote was running, that the contest would be a close one. After the voting was closed, and the names were being slowly read at the desk by the reading clerk, it was ascertained that the question was lost by three or four majority. Then commenced a most ludicrous scene. Five or six members sprang to their feet and changed their votes from the negative to the affirmative, thus turning the majority to two on the other side, and I am sorry to say that the majority of these changing votes came from the Democratic side of the House."

Then follows the distinguished gentleman's view of the morality of the whole business, after which he proceeded to draw his back pay with the rest:

"I felt a high and controlling sense of duty in whatever I did from its inception to its close. I could not bring myself to feel it to be consistent either with propriety or duty, at the very close of a term of Congress of two years, *by my own vote*, to 'put money in my purse,' against the will of my constituents. There was perhaps no man in Congress who needed money more than I did, but I have not yet come to the conclusion to abandon the consoling idea that there yet remains in this world of ours, bad as it is, something which is still better than money—an approving conscience and sense of duty honestly performed."

I refer to these facts and figures not for the purpose of defending or shielding in the slightest degree those Republicans who, by their influence and votes, promoted the back-pay salary iniquity, but only to show that it does not lie in the mouths of Democrats to make party capital out of it. All members of both parties who voted for the bill will be held individually responsible for their acts by the people. Neither political party is responsible, so long as it disapproves and condemns the scandalous proceeding. The prospective increase, notwithstand-

ing the time was opportune, would probably have been borne by the people, but connected as it was with the back pay provision, the whole transaction is tainted, and the convention very properly demand the repeal of the whole bill.

CREDIT MOBILIER.

Of the Credit Mobilier matter, it is only necessary to say that it was an unmitigated swindle of the Government without excuse or palliation. The whole thing was corrupt in its inception and scandalous in its outcome. Some good men, who probably meant no evil and intended no wrong, were inveigled into it by designing rascals, and some bad men engaged in it for personal gain no doubt, knowing its character fully. It is to be hoped that the blasted and ruined reputations which have been the result of the Credit Mobilier investigation and exposure will be a warning for the future, so that Congressmen will hereafter be slow to engage in speculations, regarding matters upon which they may be called to legislate, whatever be their character. It is certainly a healthful sign of the times that official misconduct meets with such general condemnation among all classes and conditions of men. It is the pride of the Republican party that, without fear or favor, it was the first to move investigation, and the most persistent in pressing inquiry to the bitter end. It attempted no concealments, and covered no man's crimes, but permitted the guilty to suffer, and itself applied the lash. Its ability and willingness to do this is the surest indication that the party is still pure, patriotic, and worthy of the confidence it has so long enjoyed. It came into existence to right the wrongs of millions. It lives to vindicate truth and justice, to maintain the good cause, to expose and punish corruption and evil, wherever it finds them. There is no man so loved and trusted among its leaders but he will be thrust aside the moment he proves recreant to his duty. There is no name so high and honored that it will not be blotted out whenever it is disgraced. So long as the party thus maintains its purity and independence, it will continue in power, and will increase in usefulness.

TARIFF.

Some of our Democratic brethren—especially the Cincinnati *Enquirer*—seem to be very much exercised and troubled, because the Republican Convention of Ohio did not incorporate in its platform a resolution relating to the tariff. I cannot on this occasion take the time necessary to consider the subject at any

length, but I desire to say very frankly the Republicans are not altogether agreed about it. I doubt if it can ever again be made a party question in this country. Men's opinions regarding it depend largely upon the localities where they live, and the employments in which they are engaged. There are counties in this State where the Democrats are all for a protective tariff. There are other counties where the Republicans are in favor of a revenue tariff purely, without reference to protection. It is interesting, however, to notice the consistency and harmony of the Democracy regarding it. The 6th of August convention says of the Democratic party:

"It insists that our tariff laws should be framed with a view to revenue, and not to tax the community for the benefit of particular industries."

Now if this means anything, it means that the idea of protection should not be entertained at all, for the reason that its operation is oppressive and wrong. And yet the Democratic National Convention of 1868, which certainly was supposed to speak for the party, declared:

"That we are in favor of a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the law as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden, and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country."

And the national conventions at Cincinnati and Baltimore, last year, agreed to leave the whole matter to the several Congressional districts.

Now, my friends, which is Democracy? The fact is, that the tariff planks in the platforms of all parties are usually mere dodges, so framed as to mean anything or nothing, as one or another may choose to have it. The Republican Convention this year acted wisely in not repeating this folly. The tariff necessary for revenue, and which will be required for many years to come, is sufficient for all purposes. It should be so distributed as to do the greatest good to the greatest number; not to enrich the few at the expense of the many, but so as to give employment and good wages to labor, as well as fair returns for capital invested. How this distribution will be made will vary with circumstances, and always demands careful consideration, and extensive knowledge of facts. It is possible that present laws could be improved, but even under these, we are prospering very well.

There are many other topics which I should be glad to discuss did time permit, but they must be postponed for some other occasion during the campaign.

I had the honor to express my views upon the subject of national banks and the Indian policy of the Administration, last year and two years ago, in speeches which were published. I have seen no reason to change the opinions then held, and do not care to repeat them here.

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST THE CANADIAN MINISTRY.

Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of the New Dominion, and other members of the Ministry, have become involved in serious charges of bribery and corruption, which, if sustained, cannot fail to result in their removal in disgrace from the high positions which they now occupy.

In order to present the statements connected with this unfortunate affair before the reader so as to be easily comprehended, it will be necessary to review briefly some of the more recent public measures of the Dominion Government.

It is well known that for some years past the policy of the English Government has been to confederate her American colonies under one central government. To this there was much oppo-

sition manifested in all the colonies affected, outside of Canada proper. Various measures—some of which, it was charged, were neither just nor honorable—were adopted, in order to overcome this opposition, and on the first day of July, 1867, the confederacy was formally organized, with four colonies included and four others still out.

After continued perseverance, and the lapse of years, three of these have been persuaded, or forced, into the confederation, and the last, New Foundland, in consideration of the promise of a railway across the island—a distance of 400 miles—by the Dominion Government, will probably soon give its consent, and thus complete the confederation scheme.

The colony of British Columbia, lying on the coast of the Pacific ocean, rejected the overtures when first made, and petitioned the Queen and British Parliament to be permitted to join the United States, and soon after sent a memorial to President Grant, asking him to intercede in their behalf in the effort they were then making to join their destinies with those of the American Union. Their petition was not granted, but in lieu thereof, her Majesty's Colonial Secretary sent them an emphatic intimation that it was her Majesty's pleasure to have them join the New Dominion; while the Government of Canada, as one of the inducements for British Columbia to do so, promised to build a railway from the little colony of 15,000 white inhabitants on the Pacific, through British territory to Canada and the Atlantic. This offer was finally accepted. The Dominion Government, in order to be enabled to fulfil its pledge, asked England to guarantee, by act of Parliament, the bonds necessary to be issued to build the contemplated railway. This was refused, on the ground that they had already gone far enough in that way by guaranteeing the bonds of the Intercolonial railway.

Time passed on, and the Treaty of Washington was prepared and arranged by the Joint High Commission, in which Sir John A. Macdonald represented the interests of the Canadian Dominion. The terms of the treaty were no sooner announced than an intense opposition to the same—so far as they affected British America—was manifested by the people, and in the Parliament of the Dominion.

The English Government, just at this time, reconsidered the guarantee question, and consented to indorse the bonds of the railway to the extent of \$30,000,000. A charge was made in the British Commons at the time, that this was a bribe to induce the Canadians to accept the treaty—a compromise arrangement, at least. Gladstone denied the charge; but the knowing ones on both sides of the Atlantic drew their own inferences. The treaty was accepted by the Domin-

ion, and \$30,000,000 of railway bonds were guaranteed by act of the British Parliament.

With this guarantee, the Canadian bonds could be placed, at any time, upon the market at nearly their face value. To this \$30,000,000 the Dominion Government added a subsidy of 50,000,000 acres of land in the northwestern country, variously valued at \$1 to \$1 50 per acre. Under this inducement, as might be expected, the contract to build the road was eagerly sought by capitalists, and by speculators without capital. Two companies were formed, and a lively competition arose between them for the job. One of these had for its president Hon. Senator McPherson, a prominent Canadian politician. The other was presided over by Sir Hugh Allan, of Ravenscraig, as he designates his magnificent mansion and grounds at the base of Montreal mountain, in the suburbs of the city. Sir Hugh, in point of enterprise and success, is the Vanderbilt of the Dominion; the owner of the extensive line of twenty steamships plying in "Allan's line" between Montreal, Quebec, and England. Sir Hugh had never yet been defeated, and he resolved not to be outgeneraled by Senator McPherson. The Senator's company was composed of English and Canadian capitalists, while that of the knight of Ravenscraig consisted of six Canadian and five American directors; the latter, curiously enough, being directors also of the Northern Pacific railroad, a rival and competing enterprise. The mystery of this connection will be explained presently.

Sir Hugh had many obstacles to overcome. The people generally of all the confederated colonies, excepting those of British Columbia and Manitoba, through which the railway would pass, were opposed to its construction, on account of the immense debt it would entail upon them, without the remotest prospect of remunerating returns from its earnings. To overcome this opposition Sir Hugh proposed to secure a change of public sentiment by subsidiz-

ing opposition editors and publishers, and by paying young lawyers and others to write and talk up the merits of his enterprise. On the 1st of April, 1872, (All Fools' day,) a levy was made on his American directors for \$50,000, which was paid and placed to his credit. Of this sum *La Minerve*, a French paper in Montreal, received \$4,000, and three other French papers received \$3,000 each. This is Sir Hugh's own report. The balance, together with larger contributions from his American capitalists, was placed where Sir Hugh believed it would "do the most good." In a confidential letter to his whilom friend, Mr. McMullen, dated August 6, 1872, the knight says :

"The near approach of the elections, and the stand taken by my French friends has brought this matter to a crisis, and I think the game that I have been playing is likely to be attended with success. * * * * *

"This position has not been attained without large payments of money. I have already paid over \$200,000, and will have at least \$100,000 more to pay."

That he was fully assured in his own mind of the success of his operations may be inferred from another letter to his friend, written within a few days of the same date, in which he said :

"I believe I have got the whole arranged through my French friends, by means you are aware of, and we have the pledge of Sir G. that we will have a majority, and other things satisfactory."

"Sir G.," referred to in this quotation, was Sir George E. Cartier, then the representative of the French interests in the Commons, and member of the Cabinet; and the person to whom these confidential communications were made is G. W. McMullen, who has since, for reasons hereafter to be explained, exposed the whole scheme and published the private correspondence. Cartier had always opposed Sir Hugh in his railway company, and had hitherto been sustained in his opposition by the French members of Parliament. However, the knight of Ravenscraig undertook to buy these French members wholesale, by the promise of a railway extension direct

from Ottawa to Montreal through the French settlements, and by other means, and having secured the management of Cartier's friends, thus to control his own movements. He succeeded. "He employed young lawyers," says McMullen, "to write up his scheme, he subsidized newspapers to advocate it; and he himself canvassed perseveringly, and stumped the country, in order to get it under way. By these means, and, no doubt, by the judicious application of his secret-fund service, he bagged no fewer than twenty-seven members of Parliament, by which instruments Sir Hugh became Sir George's master or driver." But while the gallant knight was actively engaged in subsidizing the press, public speakers and French members, he found also that, by the aid of his money-bags, he could reach even higher game. In official business relations he had long been on intimate terms with the Premier and other members of the Cabinet, and through their influence had been the recipient of liberal subsidies to his ocean steamships. Just how the temptation was presented or accepted on the present occasion does not appear, but the published correspondence shows that a very considerable portion of the \$343,000 in gold, which Sir Hugh says he had spent in accomplishing his ends, went directly into the hands of Sir John A. McDonald, the Prime Minister of the Dominion, and other members of the Government. Sir Hugh told his American friend that he lent Sir John A. \$4,000, and Sir Francis Hincks \$4,500, "with the very good knowledge that it was never to be repaid." McMullen, his confidential friend, also adds: "Sir Hugh explained that the Finance Minister was taking a great deal of interest in the matter, and that he had sounded him on the extent of his personal expectations, when it reached an assured conclusion. He said Sir Francis had replied that at his time of life an absolute payment would be preferable to a percentage of ultimate profits, and thought he should have \$50,000, and, in addition, the position of

secretary of the company for his son, at a salary of not less than \$20,000 per annum." In another part of his letter McMullen says "\$6,000 went to Attorney General Ouimet, for aid rendered at Ottawa, and an indefinite loan of \$10,000 to Sir Francis Hincks, * * * and Mr. Abbott was authorized (by Sir Hugh) to promise Mr. Langevin \$25,000, to aid in elections about Quebec, on condition of his friendly assistance, and Mr. Abbott reported that he had done so."

Other large sums were paid by Sir Hugh, or his agent, Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, to members of the Government and others, much of which was again used by members of the Ministry in bribing the electors, in order to secure the return of members who would support the Government party, then rapidly losing ground both in the Commons and among the people. While the elections were going on the calls upon Allan from these ministers were frequent and pressing. Among the published letters, telegrams, receipts, &c., are the following :

MONTREAL, August 24, 1872.

DEAR MR. ABBOTT: In the absence of Sir Hugh, I shall be obliged by your supplying the Central Committee with a further sum of \$20,000, upon the same conditions as the amount written by me at foot of my letter to Sir Hugh of the 30th ult.

GEORGE E. CARTIER.

P. S.—Please also send Sir John A. Macdonald \$10,000 more on same terms.

MONTREAL, August 26, 1872.

Received from Sir Hugh Allan, by the hands of Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, twenty thousand dollars for general election purposes, to be arranged hereafter according to the terms of letter of Sir George E. Cartier, of the date 30th July, and in accordance with the request contained in his letter of the 24th inst.

J. L. BEAUDRY,
HENRY STARNES,
P. S. MURPHY.

For Central Committee:

L. BETOURNAY.

TORONTO, August 26, 1872.

[Immediate. Private.]

To Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, St. Ann's:

I must have another ten thousand; will be the last time of calling; do not fail me; answer to-day.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

MONTREAL, August 26, 1872.

To Sir John A. Macdonald, Toronto:

Draw on me for \$10,000.

J. J. C. ABBOTT.

TORONTO, August 20, 1872.

Atsight, pay to my order at Merchants' Bank the sum of \$10,000, for value received.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

J. J. C. ABBOTT.

[Indorsement.]

Pay to the order of the Merchants' Bank of Canada.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

But after all this bribery, many of the Government candidates were defeated at the polls, and when all the returns were made the Administration found itself with only a bare majority. Cartier and Hincks were both defeated in their own districts; but afterwards succeeded in being elected, one from Manitoba and the other from British Columbia.

It was not long after the close of the elections when the charges of extensive bribery were made from various quarters; and when Parliament met Mr. Huntington, M. P. from the province of Quebec, brought the subject before the Commons, and called for an investigation. He was sustained, and a committee from the Commons was appointed in May last to examine into the charges, and report at an adjourned meeting of Parliament, to be held on the 13th of August. An oath's bill was passed, to enable the committee to take evidence under oath. But this bill was decided, by the Queen's legal advisers in London, to be defective, and it was vetoed—current report says at the instigation of the Canadian Ministry. The committee could not therefore proceed, but met and adjourned to meet the Commons on the 13th August and report and receive further instructions.

In the meantime the Ministry, though all along fully apprised of the fact that Sir Hugh Allan's company was composed largely of American capitalists, and knowing that the large amounts of money they had received from Sir Hugh were drawn mainly from the United States members of the railroad company, informed Sir Hugh that to quiet the public clamor he must drop his Ameri-

can directors from the company and substitute English or Canadian ones in their place.

This brought out Mr. McMullen, who had been chief operator between Sir H. and his American friends. McMullen hastened to Sir John A., at Ottawa, to protest. He did not receive much satisfaction, but was advised to "meet Abbott and Allan in Montreal and arrange something satisfactory." So McMullen, on being forced to the conclusion that he and the American directors were to be thrown overboard, published an *expose* of the whole affair, about the middle of July last, in the *Toronto Globe* and other Canadian papers.

As might be expected, this exposure caused an intense excitement throughout the Dominion. Sir G. E. Cartier was dead and could not reply. Hincks, in a letter to the public, attempted a denial, and so did the Premier; but like the equivocating letters of Vice President Colfax and Senator Patterson in the Credit Mobilier affair, they only made matters worse for themselves.

The 13th of August was approaching, when the Dominion Parliament would meet. The Ministry gave out that on assembling no business would be transacted; the committee had no report to offer, and Parliament would be prorogued immediately on assembling. The opposition press became furious when this rumor obtained currency, and declared that the Ministry would not thus dare to trample upon the constitutional rights of the people.

The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, was then making a tour through the maritime provinces, and had reached Halifax, Nova Scotia, when he was recalled by his ministers, and proceeded immediately to Ottawa, where, after travelling day and night by special conveyance, he arrived on the morning of the 13th. Parliament would assemble at 3 o'clock p. m. The writer arrived at Ottawa the evening before. The opposition members, with very few exceptions, were already in the city. Until a late hour at night the halls and parlors of the hotels were crowded with politicians, and the most

intense excitement was manifested. This continued throughout the next forenoon.

A memorial to the Governor-General was drawn up, and signed by ninety-five members—nearly one-half of the whole number, among whom were the names of fourteen who had hitherto supported the Ministry—praying that Parliament might not be prorogued, but be allowed to hear the report of the investigating committee, and proceed with such business as might be necessary in connection therewith. This memorial was presented to Lord Dufferin about noon by a committee of members of the Commons. His lordship asked for an hour in which to consider its contents and make his reply. At the end of that time the committee returned, and a half hour more was asked for. At its expiration they again waited upon him, and he informed them that he could not accede to their request, as his ministers had advised him to prorogue the Parliament, and appoint a royal commission, consisting of three judges from the bench, to investigate these charges. The point in the memorial was to the following effect:

"The undersigned are deeply impressed with the conviction that any attempt to postpone the inquiry, or to remove it from the jurisdiction of the Commons, will create the most intense dissatisfaction, and therefore pray your Excellency not to prorogue Parliament till the House of Commons shall have had an opportunity of taking such steps as it may deem necessary and expedient with reference to this important matter."

The Governor's decision was the more surprising to the committee and other members from the fact that just before he left Halifax he made a public speech, in which he declared himself bound to leave everything to Parliament. He said:

"My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is Parliament of Canada—(cheers)—in fact, I suppose I am the only person in the Dominion whose faith in the wisdom and in the infallibility of Parliament is never shaken. Each of you, gentlemen, only believes in Parliament so long as Parliament votes according to your wishes and

convictions. I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament, no matter which way it votes."

By the time the committee had returned with his lordship's answer members had begun to assemble at the Parliament building. On hearing the reply, the opposition members—the Canada "grits"—to the number of about one hundred, collected in one of the committee rooms for the purpose of consultation. The feeling of indignation was strong, very strong, and members generally felt compelled to keep their lips closed lest their feelings might lead to expressions not complimentary to his lordship and his advisers.

Three o'clock came, and the members took their seats in the Commons. There were about one hundred and twenty present, of whom only about twenty were Ministerialists. The speaker did not enter the room until 3.20 p. m.; but the moment he did so Mr. McKenzie, leader of the opposition, rose and attempted to address the House to a question of privilege. The speaker declined to allow him to proceed, and for fifteen or twenty minutes the greatest excitement and confusion prevailed. McKenzie finally read his resolution, declaring a want of confidence in the Ministry, and thrust it into the hand of the speaker.

During this scene the Governor was in his seat in the Senate Chamber, where some half a dozen Senators—not more—were present. Some of the many vacant seats were occupied by ladies. The galleries, as in the Commons, were crowded with ladies and gentlemen. The Governor sat some fifteen minutes, resting his forehead most of the time in his hand. After despatching his usher to summon the Commons into his presence in the Senate, for the purpose of proroguing Parliament, he was handed two printed copies of his speech, about to be delivered, one copy in English and the other in French. He glanced over the sheets leisurely and folded them up. Presently the usher returned, bowing and scraping as he advanced towards the representative of her Majesty, and

announced to the Governor that he had attended to his instructions.

Not one of the one hundred opposition members obeyed the summons or left their seats. Sir J. A. Macdonald and other members of the Ministry, and some fifteen of their supporters, rose and retired to the Senate, when the Governor, still seated with his uniform hat and feather on his head, said, first in English and then in French, (reading from the sheets before them):

"I have thought it expedient, in the interests of good government, to order that a commission should be issued to inquire into certain matters connected with the Canada Pacific Railroad Company, to which the public attention has been directed, that the evidence before such commission should be taken on oath. The commissioners shall be instructed to proceed with the inquiry with all diligence, and to transmit their report as well to the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons as to myself. Immediately on receipt of the report, I shall cause Parliament to be summoned for the despatch of business, to give you an early opportunity of taking such report into consideration. Meanwhile, I bid you farewell."

At the close of this announcement the Governor rose and left the room. The writer then returned to the Commons, where the opposition were still in their seats, and saying some very hard things against the Queen's representative and his advisers. They soon, however, retired to the large railroad committee room of the Commons, and organized by the appointment of a president and secretary. Sharp addresses were delivered by prominent members, denouncing the daring and unprecedented usurpation of the people's rights in turning their representatives out of doors, and taking the investigation with which the Commons was charged out of their hands and placing it under the control of the Ministry—the very men against whom the charges were preferred. The members adjourned to meet again at 7.30 o'clock, when a red-hot indignation meeting was held, and speeches were made, some of them of great force, by a large number of the members present from the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia,

and New Brunswick. Resolutions were adopted corresponding in spirit and sentiment with the views expressed, when the meeting was closed and the members separated, pledged to go on at the next meeting of Parliament with the investigation of charges of corruption against the Ministry; and feeling assured that if they are proved to be true, that the result will be a majority in favor of a vote of want of confidence in the Government advisers, which, in accordance with constitutional usages in England, will compel them to resign their seats and cause a change of Government.

In the meantime the royal commission, composed of three judges selected by the accused Ministry, will go through the form of investigating the charges. They will summon Mr. Huntington, who first preferred the charges in the Commons, and Mr. McMullen, who published the ministers' telegrams and letters, calling on Sir Hugh for money; but it is reported that neither of these gentlemen will respond or attend, preferring to reserve their evidence to be given before the committee of the Commons originally appointed, or before the Commons itself when it meets.

Before closing, it will be necessary to explain briefly why the president, vice president, the treasurer, and other directors of the United States Northern Pacific railway consented to invest capital in a rival Canadian Northern Pacific railway that would come into immediate competition with their own enterprise.

Sir Hugh Allan was allowed ten years, and was about to ask for a longer period, in which to complete the Canadian road; but that portion of it through the Dominion up to Lake Superior could be put in operation in two or three years, when the United States Northern Pacific railway, from Lake Superior to the Pacific, (now far advanced,) would also be completed. These two sections, one in Canada, the other in the United States, with substantial steamships running in connection with their termini across the lake, would give the public *one completed*

line from the Pacific shores to Montreal and Quebec, and thence to St. John, N. B., and Halifax, N. S. This would afford accommodation for all the traffic and travel through that northern section of the continent between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and bring a large increase of freight and passengers to Sir Hugh's line of steamships between the Dominion and Europe. Branches would be constructed from the American road to all the Dominion colonies and settlements west of Lake Superior.

As commerce increased another road could be constructed; but now, with a population of only 15,000 in Manitoba, and as many more in British Columbia, exclusive of Indians, a railway west from Lake Superior, through the wilderness of the Dominion, could only be a losing affair, and must involve the country in an immense debt; first in building and afterwards in running a non-paying transcontinental railway.

The other arrangement was a grand one for all parties concerned, and if the Canadian Ministry had continued to support Sir Hugh Allan, without being bribed to do so, the people would very soon have seen the advantages of his arrangement and given it their hearty approval.

But the Ministry have demanded and received large sums, in consideration of their support. This was done with the full knowledge that the money came mainly from the American directors. And now, after receiving the funds, they have turned around, on the plea of political necessity, and thrown the American directors of the company overboard, upset the arrangement by which a grand Canadian-American railway could have been put in successful operation in three or four years, and left the Dominion without the near prospect of a Pacific railway except as a ruinous financial failure, with the entailment of a debt of thirty to fifty millions of dollars upon the people, in the form of increased annual taxes, without any equivalent or the prospect of remunerative returns.

THE CHEAP TRANSPORT QUESTION—NO. II.

In our article last month we premised the ground of our exposition of the importance of the construction by Government of the great national work of connecting the Mississippi river with the Atlantic ocean, the construction of the Atlantic and Mississippi, or "Atlantic and Great Western Canal," connecting the Tennessee with the Coosa and Ocmulgee rivers, thereby opening an unobstructed water communication between the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers, with tidewater at or near Savannah, Georgia. That this is a national enterprise of the highest importance to the whole country, we propose now to elucidate as clearly as we may.

Notwithstanding the constitutional scruples of some able minds, from the year 1807 internal improvements by the nation of great thoroughfares have occupied the attention of the wisest men. Adams, Madison, Clay, Gallatin, Calhoun, Jackson, and others have all favored, at different times, a wise and judicious expenditure of moneys out of the National Treasury towards the development of internal improvements, and it cannot be doubted that, notwithstanding the modern railways, water navigation always will afford the cheapest transportation for the great productions of the country—the staples that feed, clothe, and sustain nations of men. We may travel, transport mails, express matter, perishable articles, light goods, fruits, luxuries, by railway, but the substantial, the wealth, the great articles of commerce, the products of farmers' and planters' toil, the wheat, corn, barley, oats, hay, cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, hemp, iron and iron manufactured goods, heavy merchandise, machinery and tools, coal, lumber, salt, &c., &c., must be transported by cheaper arteries than iron rails. The rivers of this vast country, interspersed as it is by the finest in the world—God's own gifts, as intercourses to be made available and useful to men—must be utilized to bear the heavier burdens, as they were doubtless designed

for transportation and intercommunication between section and section, from fresh water to salt, and from mountain and plain, inland district to sea and metropolitan cities, the fruits of labor, the industries and wealth of man.

Now, when we survey carefully and properly, without regard to politics or sectionality, the vast work before us—not vast in cost of construction, but vast in its elements of development of wealth and good—we shall find that the whole people—the nation entire—is interested, deeply interested in the great work we advocate. The West—the valley of the Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Western Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky—are indirectly interested in this magnificent enterprise. Of course, too, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, and Florida are interested more intimately in the same way; and what so largely interests these States must interest all New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and all the States not specified. Indeed, the wealth, the prosperity, the population of the entire Union is interested in whatever of such magnitude affects section or locality. When the West ceases to grow its great staples, the whole Union must suffer; and when the great West cannot market its staples without loss to the producer, it must cease to produce them. The question then reduces itself to the cheapest, most feasible, most practicable outlet from West to East—from producer to consumer. The iron railway cannot be built, equipped, and maintained at the cost of canal and slack-water navigation where its lines run parallel or connect with great water levels. This is as clear as a sunbeam, and no possible argument, or sophistry, or elucidation can controvert this proposition. The opening of water communication between the Ohio and Kanawha, and James river, of Virginia, the Mississippi, Tennessee, Coosa and Ocmulgee rivers, of Georgia, with

tidewater of the Atlantic ocean, navigable at all seasons of the year by boats of 300 and 500 tons burden, will be worth all the railroads that have been built, or will be built in the next fifty years. The expenses of construction of these works will be incomparably less, and the maintenance of them in repair but a drop in the bucket compared with railroads.

The fact that the Erie canal, of New York, with its carrying capacity per boat not exceeding 200 tons, and its season of navigation averaging only about seven months each year, carried from Lake Erie to tidewater, or New York, over 48 per cent. of the entire freights of a series of years amounting to about 20,000,000 of tons, in the fullest competition against the great Central and Erie railroads, running their immense freight trains every day in the year, conclusively settles the economical question and the utility of ordinary canals against railroad transportation. Besides this the Erie canal, with all its enlargements, has not cost one-half the amount the Central railroad alone cost, and has had expended upon it year by year; and the annual wear and tear and expenditures to repair and keep in working order either the New York Central or Erie railroads far exceeds the annual repairs of the canal. Increase the Erie canal to the capacity of 500-ton boats, and it will annually carry, against all the railroads traversing New York, from west to east, 75 per cent of the entire tonnage of the West finding its way by Northern routes to the seaboard markets.

Now, what must necessarily be the consequence or the result to the producers as well as consumers of our country on the completion of the Atlantic and Great Western Canal, &c.? Will the labor of the West and the South not be materially enhanced and rewarded as it never yet has been? Will not the wealth of the nation become more permanent, more tangible, more steady, more useful? And will not the bonds of Union, the fraternal unity of the masses of the people, become more than ever "one and indivisible?" It is certain to

the mind of the writer of these articles, viewing the state of the country from his standpoint, that no public work, no great enterprise, not even the union of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the iron bands, had greater importance than the immediate construction and early completion of these great works. And when the Ohio and the James rivers, and the waters of the Tennessee and Coosa and Ocmulgee shall commingle and be utilized as thoroughfares, then will the importance of these works be sources of national power and perpetual usefulness, second to no other national work ever constructed on this or any other continent. From statistics that are perfectly reliable, we know that the cost to the producer and consumer of moving a ton of wheat, corn, pork, beef, &c., from, say St. Louis to New York, at the lowest rates, via New Orleans, is \$8 49 per ton, the equivalent of 42 cents per bushel of breadstuffs. From St. Louis, via Chicago, to New York, it is \$11 32 per ton, or 53 cents per bushel; and in winter, when the great lakes and Erie canal are closed with the frozen barriers of ice, by railroad it is \$14 65 per ton, or 65 cents per bushel. From St. Louis to Savannah, by railroad, now it costs \$14 40 per ton or 41 cents per bushel, whereas, by the proposed canal and slack-water navigation it would only cost \$4 88½ per ton, or 14 cents per bushel.

We also find that the cost of transporting produce or merchandise from St. Louis, via New York, to Liverpool, by the Northern route, in the most favorable seasons of navigation, is \$11 77½ per ton; from St. Louis, via the Mississippi river and New Orleans, to Liverpool, per ton, is \$13 91, while the cost from St. Louis, via Savannah, by the proposed Atlantic and Great Western Canal, &c., would be but \$9 11 per ton. These facts speak for themselves, and are, we believe, incontestable. It is also shown by statistics that the States of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida require and consume not less than about 105,000,000 bushels of grain per annum. By the census reports of the year 1870,

the production of these four States was only, of cereals, 57,215,000 bushels; the deficit, therefore, for actual consumption, to be supplied, was 47,305,870 bushels of grain, and which grain had to be supplied from the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, at an average cost of \$14 40 per ton, and it is clearly demonstrable that by the construction of this proposed Atlantic and Great Western Canal and slack-water navigation a saving would have been made to consumer and producer of \$9 52 per ton, equal to the large sum to the people of these four States (to be divided with the producer) of \$13,647,024 72 for one year alone. This saving on one article of food and consumption for one year is indeed enormous. What, then, would it be on the vast amount of all kinds of food and merchandise shipped from the West to the South, and from New York and Liverpool and other European marts, via this canal, to St. Louis and all the great States directly and indirectly interested in and affected thereby? The annual saving would be untold millions upon their industries. The annual saving on the transportation of beef, pork, metals, coals, lumber, merchandise, sugar, cotton, agricultural implements, machinery, and all the thousand articles that go to make up the enormous aggregate of the internal commerce, the imports and exports, of this vast country supplied through this great artery would be millions of dollars more.

The undeveloped mountains of iron, copper, lead, coals, lumber, of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Missouri, will then find an unlimited market and outlet to the sea. Besides this, 5,000,000 acres of land now cultivated in corn and other cereals, not including rice, producing on an average less than *twelve* bushels of grain per acre, better adapted as it is to the growth of cotton, will be turned into cotton fields, producing and adding not less than 2,000,000 to 2,300,000 bales to the present annual production of this most important staple, and add to our annual exports and specie exchanges of the country not less than \$160,000,000 to

\$200,000,000—an amount exceeding annually *five to six times* the total cost of constructing permanently the work we are now specially advocating.

There is another point of view in this connection of the utmost importance, and that is the great necessity the South now has of immigration; of opening up some inducement whereby the millions of uncultivated acres of the South now in wilderness, and those going to waste and desolation, shall be made to blossom and bear the rich fruits of husbandry. The South *must have* some inducement to attract immigration, and no enterprise or public work would surpass this great internal improvement; and the North could in no possible way do themselves or the entire country or civilization more good than by aiding in the completion at the earliest day of this great enterprise. Millions of acres would then be reclaimed, and millions of population, the bone and sinew of Europe and the Northern and Western States, would then go South, there to cultivate and develop those now wasting acres. The construction of these water lines of communication would thus at once be an encouragement that the South needs, above all things, next to cheap transportation for its imports as well as exports, hardy, worthy, inestimable immigrants—settlers, citizens. We want them by thousands, tens of thousands; we need a proportion of that great tide of humanity (and capital too) that now so steadily finds its way westward; and the only way seemingly to secure this and develop and bring again prosperity to the languishing South is by immigration and the construction of the Atlantic and Mississippi or Great Western Canal. Then the South would see better days; the old fields would soon smile again; forests would give way to fruits of husbandry, mines be opened, manufactories be built, furnaces send forth the glare of their fires by day and by night, and a whole people be made happy again in industries which would add untold millions to the wealth and permanent prosperity of the nation.

In our next we shall lay before the reader tables of statistics in this connection, which will not only demonstrate the utility of this work, but the absolute necessity, as well as its feasibility and importance to the people and country at large; also, the estimated cost of the construction of this work. — G. S. F.

AUGUSTA, Ga., August, 1873.

THAT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—In some sections of the country a bottle of whiskey is familiarly known as “a keg of nails,” and to announce to a crowd of old soakers that a new keg was to be opened, would call out a whistle of general approval. Our temperance advocates might fail to see the connection between a spike and a drink, but your old toper knows, as if by instinct, that they both mean the same thing.

The friends of “the lost cause” have recently held a grand war council. The big guns of the defunct Confederacy were out in force. Jeff. Davis was there, and from the tone of his speech the old gentleman seemed to be under the impression that the first shot had just been fired at Sumter, and that the South had just made up its mind to smash things generally. There was Semmes, who sailed the piratical Alabama, and the valiant Beauregard, who figured so largely in what Greeley called “the late controversy,” and scores of generals and colonels, and majors and captains, with a few chaplains mixed through the crowd to give it a religious tone. In fact, it was as near a rebel love feast as could be, and yet it was called “the meeting of the Southern Historical Society.” We doubt if the world ever saw such a gathering of military historians as came together at the White Sulphur Springs, Virginia. Jubal Early appears to be the historian-in-chief, and as he bears the indorsement of Jeff. Davis, we take it for granted that he is to give tone and direction to the grand historical effort that is to place the late Confederacy “in the proper light before mankind.” We are glad that we know the name of this society, for from its published proceedings

we should never suspect that it had the remotest connection with history. If military men are to write a true history of the war, we suggest the name of Phil. Sheridan to help Early on some of the doubtful points. As Sheridan helped Jubal out of the Valley during the war, he might help him out of some serious blunders in this matter of history. If this historical society can engage Sheridan to assist Early in writing “the true history of the war,” we shall regard the work as being in competent hands.

We believe in history, think the study a good one, and would do all things reasonable to encourage the formation of historical societies everywhere; but we lack enthusiasm over this Southern affair. It looks to us more like an effort to make new material for future history than an effort to collect the facts and incidents for a correct version of the past. As that arch historian, Jeff. Davis, expresses the belief that the rising generation will redeem what the South lost in the late struggle, and his fellow-historians applauded the sentiment to the echo, it will not be safe to dismantle our forts or sell our muskets for old iron. We don’t advise rifle practice as one of the necessities of the age, but to keep the old piece in order, and be able to pick a squirrel’s head at a hundred yards, are no mean accomplishments, and may at some future day stop an organized movement of these Southern historians a little further north than the White Sulphur Springs. While we drink in the truths of history, we must not neglect the manual of arms.

THE Democratic convention recently held in Oregon have nominated J. W. Nesmith, the late well-known Senator from that State, as the candidate of the party to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Congressman Wilson.

It is conceded that the Legislature of California is undoubtedly Republican, and the prospects for the election of Gov. Newton Booth to the United States Senate are considered very good.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION.

This body, composed in part of the presidents of the various colleges, met in the city of Elmira, New York, on the 5th of August, and was in session for several days.

Not merely educators and the friends of education, but the thinkers and philanthropists of the entire nation, cherished great expectations from the deliberations of so distinguished a body, for most men have viewed with alarm the critical condition of our educational affairs. A cry, as it were, of agony has gone forth from hundreds of independent, religious, and political papers, not primarily edited in the interests of education, deploring the great defects of the system, and calling for speedy remedies.

We find that, while the magnificent and almost incredible sum of seventy millions of dollars is annually disbursed for the maintenance of our public schools, supplemented by the expenditure of millions more by private enterprise, there are in the United States upwards of three million six hundred thousand persons over twenty-one years of age who can neither read nor write; and it is fair to presume that there are two millions more who, while they do not acknowledge total disability, are but defectively schooled in these primary accomplishments.

The country is further alarmed by the fact that, while the school-going population numbers thirteen millions, the number of pupils actually enrolled is but seven millions, or scarcely sixty per cent.

These statements, startling as they are, disclose but a moiety of existing ills. The fact, that while our children are overburdened with memorization, they learn nothing thoroughly, and that great mental inactivity pervades all classes of society, manifesting itself in politics and religion, as well as in the fine arts and in science, is even more startling and displays more fully the defects of the present system.

As the great lights of statesmanship—like Chase and Seward—depart in due

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course, no one in the rising generation seems to be capable of measurably filling their places, and it is a rarity, indeed, to find a logical statement of a theological, scientific, or political problem. Men are being ground out by the machinery of our educational system like so many marbles, without that original personality, and that breadth and comprehensiveness of character which stamps the individual as an integer and power.

The mysticism of modern spiritualism; the confounding of right and wrong in the sexual relations; the unnatural sympathy displayed for great criminals; the inanity in political discussion; the interlocation of a hundred sects, not from charity or indifference, but from muddle-headedness of leaders; the absence of thought, clear conviction and logical precision; the necessity of prohibitory liquor laws to save men from a drunkard's disgrace—though European civilization demonstrates that drunkenness results more from weakness of character than from the use of liquor—are only a few of the many proofs that if the American nation intends to live, and remain the light of the world, its educational methods must be changed and its sphere of education enlarged.

The questions, therefore, which were pressing upon the attention of the convention related, first, to the science of educating teachers so that they may learn pedagogic, historically, inductively, and objectively, and to the giving of permanence to the tenure by which teachers are appointed; for all who have given this subject but a modicum of investigation and reflection perceive that to confer the office of teacher upon young men and maidens, who look to the teaching of one or two seasons only as a means of livelihood, until they can enter other relations, is destructive of all progressive education.

Secondly, the best methods of imparting the mechanical knowledge necessary to enable the youth to grasp its kernel and spirit.

Shall Frøble's kindergarten method be introduced? Shall text-books be sup- planted by lecture-conversations with the pupils? To what studies shall the primary schools be limited? What shall be the training in our union or high schools? Shall females, after the age of fifteen, owing to the fact that their des- tiny is generally entirely different from that of males, be subjected to a special training, so that they may become ac- quainted with subjects like household handiwork, domestic economy in all its branches, the art of training children, and the chemistry of food? In what manner and by what single study can the entire character of the scholar be uniformly strengthened and developed? In what manner shall a course of moral and specific scientific, and political train- ing be introduced into our high schools and colleges; and since one of the great evils complained of is that thought has been stifled by too much memorizing, what will serve as a substitute?

In addition to these, other questions, auxiliary thereto, were expected to be discussed, and among these was, What should be the minimum age at which a youth can be allowed to graduate from our gymnasiums to colleges and other in- stitutions? The experience of the world has shown that with only here and there an exceptional genius, at least twenty- five years of age should be reached be- fore any one can enter with advantage to the State into the learned professions. One of the great defects of our system; one of the crying evils of our country and time is, that young men only twenty- one years of age, who have scarcely mas- tered the rudiments of a liberal educa- tion, are dismissed with a diploma as having finished their university course. More than medium powers are necessary to enable any one to understand the Latin, Greek, German, French, and Eng- lish languages and the higher mathema- tics at the age of twenty-one or twenty- two years; and having, by hard work, perseverance, and training mastered the shell or the form of these branches, he is enabled for the first time to get at the

spirit and essence of the literature which these studies present in the original. Then also begins, for the first time, the practical application of the higher mathe- matics to astronomy, engineering, and other useful ends, and the graduate, proud of his diploma bearing the broad seal of a renowned university, realizes, after repeated failures in the field of actual experiment, that the theoretical training of the schools is radically de- fective when brought into requisition for the purposes of life. But at that time the university says his course is finished, and the consequences are that nine-tenths of these graduates with over- crowded memories, enfeebled health, and weakened intellect are turned out into the world as possible, if not prob- able, candidates for the poor-house un- less they are fortunate enough to inherit wealth from their parents, or to be pen- sioned with the Smithsonian or other scientific fund. The youth who, without going to college, has thoroughly mas- tered one language, or one useful me- chanical trade, has achieved more and has lived to a greater purpose than those who have dabbled in many languages, knowing none.

Influenced by facts like these the friends of educational progress, of the rehabilitation of the intellectual life of our people, and of the rescue of Ameri- can science from being a byword among civilized nations, have endeavored to in- duce the National Government to estab- lish a

REAL UNIVERSITY,

and not another college to compete with Harvard, Yale, or other State or local institutions. It was hoped that a uni- versity which would only admit for grad- uation scholars who had been graduated at these institutions, but which would admit for special courses all men from whatever quarter free of tuition, and which would thus present an opportu- nity to the unfortunate youths that have been turned out, half fledged, with a diploma, to prosecute their studies at the capital, would be in part a remedy for existing ills.

It was expected that the university would be so well endowed that it could call upon all the men who were assembled at Elmira, and who possessed special knowledge in any branch of science, to deliver a course of lectures at the national university.

It was also expected that these educators could devise some means by which this university would be relatively free from direct partisan, political, and sectarian influences, and thus be made the just pride of the American people.

It was a noble thought, springing from the purest motives, and one that will be realized if this nation is not destined to sink into inanity and consequent corruption—a result that may be brought about by defective educational methods, or, at least, by an apathetic public sentiment upon the vital question of how best to provide for the intellectual training of our growing population. But what was the surprise of all friends of our country's welfare, when these presidents of colleges ignored all these important subjects, and expended their labors upon purely negative and destructive criticisms.

Mr. Eliot does not want a national University. He can pick a hundred flaws in the law for its establishment. He goes so far even as to condemn the entire State system of education, saying it should be remanded back to purely private enterprise, and argues, moreover, that inasmuch as our Government cannot teach religion, it ought not to teach anything at all.

Thus, while the educators of our land are agitating the question of compulsory attendance at the public schools to breast the tide of ignorance which threatens to overwhelm our institutions, Mr. Eliot, with a narrow jealousy, surprising when coming from a man of his opportunities, throws his influence in favor of destroying the entire fabric. Far from teaching the world that it is the most solemn duty of a citizen to think for, and to watch over, the destiny of this Republic with the same care as he would over his own first-born, he sneers

at statesmanship, and endeavors to disgust the people into indifference. If corruption exists; if statesmanship has been reduced to political wire-pulling, office-seeking, and pipe-laying at the primary conventions, Professor Eliot and the educators of the nation should call with the ringing voice of the fire-bell to the rescue, and strive with every nerve to bring the science and morality of the nation to bear upon its political destiny. Instead of that we have only flings at the political and social atmosphere of Washington city, which, we all know, is compelled to receive the men whom the several States choose to send; and Massachusetts, in the person of Oakes Ames and others, has contributed at least its full share to the debasement of the political and social atmosphere of Washington.

A majority of the residents of the capital are born in the different States, and a more complete aggregate of the political and social morality of the nation and country cannot anywhere be found. Mr. Eliot can have but little faith in the advantages of a thorough collegiate training if he believes that the politicians could degrade and overpower the university, instead of the university, by its examples and its precepts, being able to direct political science to higher aims and lead our nation to a nobler life.

Thus the convention has been purely negative in its results. Some of the speakers denounced the "Report of the Bureau of Education" as inaccurate, though it presented the *only statistics* that could be found, and its tabular statements were used in the discussions as the only accessible data, by the very men who pronounced it unreliable.

If this report is inaccurate it is owing either to the fact that the census was unscientifically taken and carelessly compiled, or to the humiliating acknowledgment that our colleges are so unsystematic and unbusiness-like in their management that their authorities are unable to answer correctly the inquiries of the commissioner; for the tabular statements of the educational report are

taken either from the census or from the statements furnished by the colleges themselves.

REVIEW OF ELIOT'S SPEECH.

While the steerage holds of the vessels of a score of steamship companies are overcrowded with Europeans, seeking the advantages which our fertile soil and free institutions offer, the cabins of the same ships are well filled with American youths, crossing the ocean to obtain a university education upon the European continent. The number of these students is, moreover, increasing from year to year, and if it were not for the expense, which comparatively few can afford, our United States system of higher education would be entirely superceded by that of Europe.

Professor Eliot himself seems to recognize the disadvantages of this state of affairs when he remarks that "it by no means follows that an educated and intelligent people will also be republican." With this sentiment we heartily coincide, for our most capable and earnest men, having become imbued with the principles of monarchy and aristocracy abroad, return to our shores with a thorough disgust for the people, alienated in feeling from republican institutions, and desirous of keeping aloof from the supposed contamination of political life. Yet, we all must acknowledge that a European education is a necessity to many men. No one, for instance, can hope to reach eminence as a sculptor, a painter, a mining engineer, or in the sciences of forestry, architecture, philology, or music without leading for several years the life of a student upon the European continent.

Professor Agassiz, who has shed upon Harvard College most of its renown as a scientific institution, himself says, "that we have no universities in America;" while De Tocqueville, one of the most enthusiastic admirers of our country, remarked as late as 1850, that "it must be confessed that among the civilized peoples of our age, there are few in which the higher sciences have

made so little progress as in the United States."

In view of these facts, Professor Eliot, who, as a man of letters, ought to be a cosmopolite, above the narrow prejudices of peoples, languages, or boundaries, is not ashamed to appeal to the most vulgar prejudices when he says: "The American voluntary system of education is in sharp contrast with the military and despotic organization of public instruction which prevails in Prussia and most of the other continental nations of Europe."

We admit the "sharp contrast," but we cannot see why Mr. Eliot should bring it into review; for while the European system has produced eminent men in every branch of science, the American system, since the days of Benjamin Franklin, has produced few men or books of scientific authority anywhere; and, in view of facts like these, an intelligent people may be slow to pass a sweeping judgment of condemnation upon institutions that have produced so many beneficent results.

Professor Eliot criticizes some of the details of the bills for the establishment of a national university that were introduced by Senators Howe and Sawyer, not with the view of remedying existing defects, but in that carping spirit which ridicules faults of form that may be explained or amended, and is bent on annihilation. While even Mr. Eliot is compelled to acknowledge that both bills were designed in a catholic spirit to free the university from political appointments and interferences—though the machinery devised may have been somewhat clumsy and in need of simplification—actuated by a narrow jealousy, which perceives in a national university not a great helper in the work of education, but a probable rival, he seeks to throw obloquy and ridicule, not merely upon the project, but upon its authors. It would be easy to suggest remedies for all the defects indicated, and if Mr. Eliot had been desirous to aid the project, he would himself have suggested amendments; but every line of his crit-

icism shows that he was seeking for pretexts to destroy the entire fabric.

That great statesman and grandest parliamentary leader of his time, and the author of the common school system of the State of Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Stevens, slammed the door in the face of the rebellious States when they sought readmission into the Union, save upon the condition that they incorporate in their State constitutions provisions for common school systems, supported by the State.

President Lincoln and all the leaders of the Republican party, as well as the party itself, were fully committed to this principle, and the solemn compacts contained within the State constitutions of Virginia and other Southern States bear testimony to the earnestness, philanthropy, and far-seeing statesmanship of this organization. But Professor Eliot tells us, at this late day, that we are all wrong, that these subsidizing processes of our common schools by State taxation "sap the foundation of public liberty," and that they "poison the national character and render public liberty defenceless." We had supposed that our common school system, supported by State taxation, had been so well established, that at least not in a national convention of educators would it have been derided in terms like these. It must, however, be observed that the mass of our teachers were not represented in this exclusive assemblage, and that the contempt and hatred which Professor Eliot evinces against common schools and the common people, while it most fully displays the soul-killing tendencies of American colleges, finds no echo among the masses of the faithful teachers of our land.

When, in 1847, famine stretched its wings over Ireland, and thousands of human beings were permitted to die in the face of England, the wealthiest nation in Christendom, and when the workingmen and workingwomen in the manufacturing districts of England could by their daily toil no longer earn a sufficiency of bread, so that in case of sickness they

became inmates of the workhouse, and in case of death, were thrown into the paupers' ditch; and when children scarcely weaned were impressed into these manufacturing charnel houses, where every yard of cotton bore in its web a modicum of shortened human life, and civilization and human nature alike began to protest that the government should devise measures to prevent this brutality and cruelty, the paid janisaries of these manufacturers at once characterized all governmental interferences as unwarrantable and paternal, designed to crush out public spirit and private enterprise. These incorporated companies had already obtained all they sought to perpetuate their sway. They had secured acts of incorporation and power to sue and collect debts. They commanded the entire army and navy in the defence of their property. They had managed to appropriate, by favorable tariff and bank legislation, and in various other ways, the bulk of the workman's earnings, and crushed them into a pulp of utter helplessness, and therefore they became the champions of governmental non-interference. "Demand and supply" must govern the labor market, though famine and pestilence be the ultimate consequences.

Thus, also, in the United States these manufacturing and railway corporations have ever been beggars at the door of our legislatures for privileges. The railways sought the right of entry and of way, land grants from the Government, and money subsidies from cities and townships; and the manufacturers insist to-day upon protective duties, so that they may be able to declare large dividends; but when the masses of the people seek protection; when they insist that the Government should reform the extortions and wrongs practiced, and provide for the better security of life and limb upon railways and steamships, Professor Eliot leads the cry of centralization and despotism. Loud is his cry in their behalf, "We seek no *paternal* government," but we prefer the grievous wrongs inflicted upon society by

the satanic selfishness of money-getters. For ourselves we accept the word "paternal." It is far better that the Government should watch with a father's care over the interests of the poorest among men, than that their lives and happiness shall be sacrificed on the altar of corporations without souls or conscience. We are willing to try the experiment of being "helped by the Government to things good in themselves," and do not consider them as "the most insidious and irresistible enemy of republicanism."

When Professor Eliot raises the cry of centralization, he is only parrot-like repeating words which have been uttered more ably before. Whenever the Government is asked to give to the people the benefits of cheap telegraphy, postal savings banks, State fire insurance, or aid in the improvement of a river, or the enlargement of a canal, or when it subsidizes a university or an agricultural college, the monopolies and institutions whose interests are unfavorably affected are always ready to prove that these acts of beneficence will cause the inevitable ruin of the land. The predictions by the Second Adventists of the destruction of the globe are not half as numerous as the prophecies of irretrievable ruin in case the Government should assume the transmission of telegrams or construct a railway to secure the cheap transportation of freight.

Is America never to have a real university? Must we forever send our youths to Europe to be educated in institutions, the outgrowth, as Professor Eliot says, "of Prussian despotism?" Shall America exhibit before the entire world this testimony of educational poverty, that its youths must travel across the sea, and do homage to monarchical institutions? And if we are to have a university, what plan will Mr. Eliot suggest, or upon what foundation will he place it?

With the exception of our State colleges, like the Ann Arbor and other Western State universities, nearly if not quite all our colleges are controlled by religious sects. We presume very few,

if any, Trinitarians, no matter how great their ability in special branches of science may be, will find admission as tutors in Yale or Harvard; while in those colleges that are controlled by Trinitarian religious interests, the questions asked of the candidate for a professorship are not merely is he preëminent in geology or mathematics, but also what is his belief on the question of the Trinity and the thirty-nine articles of faith. Thus science, free inquiry, and free thought are much more impeded by the constitutions of these bodies than they possibly could be if the additional test were political instead of religious.

But the Republican party has been so liberal and self-sacrificing, and has always risen to the height of the occasion, that in the establishment of a grand university it would not merely range in its selection over the United States, but over Europe besides. We have faith that its leaders and organizers would seek to attract the great professors from the German and other universities of Europe, because, no matter where the teacher may be born, if his labors are expended on this continent, they become the property of America.

At present only the children of very wealthy parents can enjoy the full advantages of education, because it must be sought upon another continent; but we are in favor of providing not merely free admission to the primary, grammar, and high schools, but also to the gymnasium and the State university, and finally to the national university at the capital.

Among the reasons why Washington is the proper place for the national or superior university are, first, because the Congressional Library—although incomplete, having only been raised from a large second-hand book store to a useful library by the present librarian—is yet by far the best and most complete upon the American continent.

Second. The Naval Observatory, with one of the best telescopes, and all the astronomical appliances, can be used as an auxiliary.

Third. The models of the Patent Office are open for inspection, and the useful as well as the useless inventions would be monitors to the student of physics.

Fourth. The National Medical Museum, illustrating the surgical operations of the late war, is invaluable to the medical practitioner.

Fifth. The Land Office is endowed with the most comprehensive collection of mineral and geological specimens.

Sixth. The Agricultural Department and the Botanical Gardens have an immense variety of plants, so that the entire vegetable kingdom can be studied to the greatest advantage.

Seventh. The Smithsonian Institution possesses a large chemical laboratory, an extensive collection of mineral and geological specimens, with rare plants and fossils, which could also be utilized if they were withdrawn from the dead hand of non-use.

Eighth. The Corcoran Art Gallery will probably contain a most extensive collection of paintings, so that some of the ancient masters can be studied upon our own continent.

Ninth. Our Capitol and public buildings present various styles of classical architecture, which cannot fail to be an auxiliary in forming correct taste. The statuary which is collected in and around them can serve, if not as models of imitation, at least as terrible examples of avoidance.

Our nation, moreover, sends annually to the capital its representative men as statesmen and law-makers. If, as Professor Eliot says, they are of so poor a quality that they contaminate the city, it is because the nation is lacking in moral and political discernment. Such as they are, they are the best we have, and, although for partisan purposes it is fashionable to speak lightly of them, because among so large a number there is a minority of incapables and corruptionists, the majority is superior in power and intelligence to that of any legislative assembly of the several States.

The above are only a few of the more striking reasons why a great university should be endowed at the capital, where all the great collateral advantages already exist, waiting to be utilized for scientific and educational purposes.

On a marshy plain, unfit for cultivation, stands the city of Munich, the capital of the little kingdom of Bavaria. Its population numbers only a hundred thousand. The seat of empire and of political power has departed since its dukes in ancient times were chosen emperors of the Germans. The climate, sultry in summer, is raw and wet in the spring and fall, and the water is so bad that strangers are liable to serious digestive disturbances. Yet this capital attracts travellers from every quarter of the world. Vast numbers of Americans visit it annually, and France, Russia, England, and Italy send their contingents. And why are all these pilgrims paying homage at this shrine? Simply because Munich contains some of the rarest art treasures of the European continent; nay, in its bronze workshops casts of nearly all the renowned statues of America can be seen. There you will find models of exquisite works of art, executed by foreign hands, and of which the originals adorn the public places of American cities. Foremost stands that masterpiece of art and design, the beautiful fountain of Cincinnati, which is ever surrounded by gazers, admiring its classic beauty, while they taste of its refreshing waters; then there are the bronze doors of the National Capitol, as well as the statue of Washington in the square at Richmond.

Shall this continue forever? Shall the Eliots of our land, by subterfuge and pitiful jealousy, retard the freedom of the best education for all? Why cannot we, with our unbounded resources, create a university which will induce Europe to send its best intellects for training to America, to become imbued with republican principles while studying American science. We are very sure that this great nation will not choose

to remain forever dependent for a thorough education upon the schools of "effete despotisms" and "the results of despotic military organization." Therefore we appeal with confidence to our people for aid in this truly national enterprise, and hope that our educators, in their State conventions, will agitate the subject until it is crowned with success.

CONGRESSIONAL SUBSIDIES.

While loud complaints are heard in reference to grants that have been made by Congress, the public seems to view with too great an indifference the demands that have been urged for two schemes of subsidy, before which all previous ones sink into insignificance. As they are again to be brought up at the next session of Congress with renewed persistency, the note of alarm cannot be given too soon. The propositions alluded to are—

First. The refunder of the cotton tax.

Second. The assumption by the National Government of the debts of the Southern States.

Most, if not all, of the general principles that underlie these two speculations are alike. It is assumed by those in favor of the payment of the Southern debt out of the National Treasury—

First. That it is a relief due that section of the country because of its impoverished condition.

Second. That a large portion of the debt has accumulated in repairing the injury done by war.

Third. That another large portion has been created for railroad purposes and other internal improvements.

Fourth. That the *post bellum* debt has been legalized by legislatures, appointed and elected, while a large number of citizens were disfranchised.

Fifth. That the proposed payments out of the national coffers would be the means of political reconciliation and permanent pacification.

Sixth. That the increased value of property in the South would form a new basis for taxation, and that thus the money paid would be but in the nature of a loan, subsequently indirectly returned.

These are substantially the reasons

assigned. There may be more, and in reference to the cotton tax there are some special pleas; but the above embody practically the grounds upon which the demands are made. It is not at all necessary to consider the amount of money involved. The reasons and the argument should have the same weight, whether a million or only a single dollar is at stake. It will be well to consider *seriatim* the propositions set forth.

1. Because the South is in an impoverished condition, from any cause, is no reason why relief should be sought in the manner proposed. The Government is not a public almoner. Only when an unforeseen public calamity has happened, has any such action been taken, and then merely by a temporary suspension of the collection of duties when imported property has been utterly destroyed. The theory and the fact in such a case is, that as the Government has received its full duty on the articles destroyed, no one is impoverished by allowing that property to be replaced without payment of duty again. Public sentiment has always approved of this equitable view, and in addition to this, whole local disinterested communities have sometimes voluntarily taxed themselves for the relief of others in such emergencies. The most notable instance of this nature is the Chicago fire. But in this case the distress was caused by an accident to which no one wilfully contributed. It is entirely different when the impoverishment is the consequence of turpitude; to step in under such circumstances would be not only to condone, but to commend and reward dereliction of duty. If it is proper, however, to relieve the South in the manner proposed, it would be well to consider what shall be called

the South. Some rule must be applied to determine what territory shall be embraced. It is argued that the destruction of slave property largely decreased the values of the Southern States, and hence cut off their ability to pay their debts; and as emancipation proclaims itself a war measure, this sudden destruction of vested rights, by the act of the nation, imposes an implied obligation for relief, as no property of private citizens can be taken for public use without due compensation. In answer to this, it may be stated that the destruction of slavery may have temporarily disturbed representative values, but that it permanently increased the real wealth of the country locally, as well as generally, is incontestible. But, if the contrary were assumed, then the debts of the States of Kentucky, Delaware, Missouri, West Virginia, and Maryland would have to be paid by the National Government, for all these were slave territories. Or shall it be ruled that only the claims of the insurrectionary States shall be considered, and not those who contributed, in whole or in part, elements loyal to the Government? The argument, if concurred in, would be at once recognizing the duty and the obligation to repay for slaves emancipated. If such a thing were possible, then the payment would not be due to States, nor would the obligation (if it existed) be cancelled by assumption of State indebtedness, but by reimbursement made direct to individuals. The "property" in slaves was, however, never "taken by the nation for public use," without compensation. Freedmen at once became a charge and an expense to the commonwealth, and the aid and assistance given from the public purse, to educate them and to advance them up to the mental and moral status of manhood, has lifted a burden from the shoulders of the former slave States under which they would otherwise have been prostrate for generations, and has increased the real values of the South to a degree that is incalculable. Besides, if it is admitted that as a war measure emancipation de-

stroyed values, destruction of property is in no sense an appropriation to public use. It is well settled, though the reverse is frequently urged, that destruction of property by the conflict of arms imposes no duty of restitution on either combatant. The claims of loyal adherents to the Union, soldier and citizen, of this character, that have arisen during the war, have been time and again refused. It is difficult to appreciate how the claim of a citizen of New York or Ohio can be declined, and one of the same character, if made by a citizen of Georgia or Texas, be valid.

2. Because a large part of the injury done by the war may have necessitated the debt in part, is hardly worth much consideration, except the counter statement, which is generally the rule, viz: If redressing the injury to the country, and preserving its inviolability intact, has created a great national debt, that may be a reason for disposing of the whole derelict territory; in other words, the confiscation of the whole Southern domain to the Government. In point of fact, such action was anticipated, and in some quarters advocated. This branch of the question may well be dismissed with the remark, that the non-insurrectionary States alone assumed the responsibility of this debt when it was originated, and for a long period of time bore its burdens single-handed. This they generously now waive, and for the future are content that the liability shall be borne by the citizens in common, without reference to previous condition of fealty. Such magnanimity is unprecedented.

3. If it is true that a large portion of the existing Southern debt has been created in aid of railroads and other internal improvements, the same can be said of all parts of the Union. It would be a dangerous precedent to establish that such improvements, made by local legislation, whether wisely or not, should be afterwards adopted by the nation. It must not be forgotten that all such improvements are presumed to be for local benefit, and by providing outlets and

transport for home products create markets, in all of which the nation is in no way directly concerned, except, of course, as far as the advancement and progress of any of its people tends to the general weal. There is a great outcry against centralization. Does it ever strike the advocates of the schemes under discussion that the adoption of this local indebtedness by the Government would result in the most dangerous aggregation of power, as it would certainly and of necessity be coupled with conditions as to future indebtedness, restrictive and mandatory, and be the entering wedge of interfering with local taxation and kindred subjects?

4. Of all the specious reasonings that have been put forth, that is the most baleful and the most dangerous, that asserts there is an obligation on the General Government arising out of the fact that legislation created debt during the temporary disfranchisement of some citizens who have since had their disabilities removed. This is a most violent assumption, striking a blow at the whole system of the Congressional reconstruction acts, not only as affecting the debt-creating power, but relates to, and reflects on, every act done alike by State legislatures and Congress since the close of the war. It covertly impugns, and overtly attacks, proceedings under which States were resuscitated and individuals rehabilitated. It would upset all that is valuable in the present political status of the country. It is the old tune on a new instrument, varied with a new tune on the old instrument. If, in an incautious moment, the people's representatives listen to the seductive syren song, and are allured by it, then the work of the last twelve years in the field and the halls of Congress may be considered barren of results. Some persons may not be alive to this effect, but such a consumation is unquestionably the premeditated intent of the leading movers of these desperate schemes. It is nothing more than an effort to shift the responsibilities and the consequences of the war from where they naturally

rest on to the shoulders of the National Government. Every now and then some movement is made, whether intentionally or not, that aims to nationalize culpability that was exclusively sectional and partisan. As years lapse, of course the events and the results of the war can be viewed dispassionately, and it is proper and prudent to heal every wound it inflicted; to let bygones be bygones; but it will be difficult for the people to pursue this course if such persistent efforts are made to change or falsify the moral, physical, or political logic of the war, by violent legislation. Independent of the positive error of the proposed course, its effrontery is unprecedented. The nation is asked to forgive and forget, while, at the same time, the incidental issues are all to be revived. Those who invoke equity must be prepared to grant it. If the nation is content to let the dead past bury its dead, there must be no resuscitation or rediscussion of the questions or issues that lie entombed.

5. That the proposed subsidies may be the means of political reconciliation, and may tend to cement all sections of the country together, is an absurd argument; it is more, as it implies the threat that a contrary course would lead to a different contingency. Whether it would or would not is of small consequence. If adherence to the National Government, and obedience to the laws, can only be secured by a *douceur*, the sooner the fact is known the better for all concerned. Duty to the Republic should be something more than a purchasable commodity. If punishment is waived, it does not follow that error should be rewarded. The fact is, there is too much mawkish sensibility exhibited on the question, that savors of old-time truckling. The several reconstruction acts were passed only after the States readmitted had expressly provided in their constitutions that there should never be any recognition of debts created for the purposes of rebellion; and now, after this positive prohibition, it is proposed that what the States have pledged themselves never to

do, before they could be restored, shall be done by the nation at large. Such a course would not only be political heresy, but a direct breach of faith; a violation of the terms under which the people's representatives in Congress voted. If the recognition of this indebtedness is continued to be urged on the Government, the sooner a prohibitory constitutional amendment is passed the better. It may yet be the duty of the Republican party to insist on some such fundamental enactment.

6. As to the consequent increased value of property in the South forming a larger basis for taxation, the premises and conclusions are false *in toto*. The Government does not collect any taxes on local valuation; its revenue is confined to imports, internal excise on a few articles, and receipts from the sale of lands; from appreciation in value of realities the National Government acquires no new basis of assessment, as there is no direct taxation; but the State, in which domain lies that improves in value, is the sole beneficiary. The argument on this point needs no refutation, except to state that if there were a particle of truth in it, then, as a matter of fairness, the appreciation of values in all sections of the country would have to be taken into consideration, and excess of increase only provided for. If this were done, and each State given credit for relative surplus over and above the general average, the balance would be largely against the section which seeks to apply the rule.

7. But there is another side of the question to which the attention of the inhabitants of the Southern States directly interested is earnestly directed. The relief asked for would not be of so much benefit to them as it would to those who own their bonds. These bonds are held by persons (many non-residents and aliens undomiciliated) who have acquired them at ruinous rates. The whole movement is in the interest of the speculators of Wall street and a few reckless, treacherous Southern politicians. By treacherous Southern politicians is

meant those who ever trim their sails to meet each prosperous gale—men whom the South and the North have in turn idolized and trusted, and who have betrayed them both.

The Southern States have been prolific in producing this description of men since the war—men who have been relied on in successive stages of success and disaster; men who have been on every side of every question as each issue became popular. Individual names need not be mentioned. Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and other States have produced prominent men of this character, native and to the manor born, infinitely more dangerous than all the so-called carpet-baggers combined. These Southern men are now in league with Wall street operators and representatives of alien non-resident firms, to get the Southern debt acknowledged and indorsed, if not assumed, by the General Government, not for the benefit of the South, but that the securities they hold (some of them of doubtful legality) shall by such guarantee immediately advance and they become enriched thereby. That would be the effect of success. The power held by these unscrupulous men, by whose advice, consent, and aid, all the illegal debt was floated, would at once be increased; the doubtful hold they now have on some of the railroads could be strengthened and made firm by the national indorsement. They expect even to profit by the agitation, for so soon as their projects are presented to Congress the securities will advance in the market, and the very debates on the question will help these stock-jobbers to bull and bear all bonds of the Southern States to their own advantage. In fact, so forlorn is the hope of ultimate success of the nefarious scheme that most persons feel assured that the whole movement is simply a ruse to help the stock-jobbing interest. While it will have this effect, it will seriously interfere with the reserved rights of States, upon which the section of the country interested is generally extremely tenacious. The repealing and amendatory power which State legisla-

tors now hold over the railroads and other franchises, to which the State has loaned its credit, would be lost to it forever, and grasping irresponsible corporations would be fastened on the several States with iron and golden bonds; the people would be doubly sold; first to these corporations, next to foreign bondholders backed up by the National Government. Soon the power or the right of the legislatures to control or tax these corporations, built up on the bonds of the State (which bonds the States would be relieved from) would be questioned and the sting of the viper would be felt that a generous people had warmed into life. Out of these State improvements, or rather improvements in the State, if matters are left in *status quo*, the State can properly gather a growing revenue as values advance. Then will arise the question of where reciprocal duty is to be given, and this is part of the scheme of the stock-dealers and speculators in the Southern debt.

To repeat, in plain language, these corporations, built upon the debt of the State, will claim that if the debt is assumed by the United States, then the United States cannot be indirectly taxed by the local government; and as the United States has repealed all the taxes imposed on corporations, the several States will lose all the revenue derived from this source. Let the South ponder on the fable of the goose that laid the golden eggs. As to that part of the Southern debt that is known to be fraudulent and fictitious, there will be little inducement to defeat it, if it is to be assumed by the National Government, and the margin for corruption naturally widens. But there is another aspect of the question, worthy of the deepest thought by any one at all disposed to be friendly to the South. This portion of the country is entitled to at least as much share, and in some particulars a larger share, of Congressional appropriations for legitimate purposes as any other section. If the immense subsidy of assuming their debts is urged, it will retard all such appropriations. The peo-

ple will argue that only specific amounts can be periodically granted to specific localities, and any local debt assumed will surely be counted to the debit of the States interested. In effect, the improvements of the rivers and harbors; the erection of public buildings and other proper aid from Congress, will be refused. Whenever appropriations are asked for the South, their obligations, if assumed by the Government, will be cited against them. Thus their real prosperity in proper channels will be retarded. Pertinent to the question, although a consideration often lost sight of when pecuniary issues are at stake, is the undeniable fact that nothing of the nature here treated of can be urged on the National Government unless at a sacrifice of honor; a species of political debasement and demoralization; an express avowal that the States cannot of themselves maintain themselves, even on points universally admitted to be purely local, without Government aid. This would be a lamentable admission, and would tacitly invite and lead to Congressional interference on local affairs far beyond the wildest theories of the most pronounced centralists. It would inaugurate a system of tutelage and guardianship that would seriously affect political independence and proper State sovereignty, for it could hardly be expected that the General Government would quietly and without interference allow a State, once relieved of its debt, to embark into enterprises that would threaten a repetition of the assumption of its obligations. It would encourage and invite financial carelessness; it would open the door to new wild schemes of State entanglement; it would ratify every past speculation and speculation, and it would call back to the councils of the several States the expatriated and ex-financiers who originated the causes of complaint and applied the baneful remedy for their personal enrichment, without regard to the political decadence of the State, which would surely follow.

These arguments are put forth dispassionately and briefly, and there is but one

thing more that need be emphatically stated at the present time. There are some persons aiming for political power who tamper with local prejudices or local interests by promising aid and influence to assist in getting the Southern debt paid by the National Government. Some of these persons may be, and doubtless are, within the Republican party, and may have had more or less prominence in it; but whenever they advocate such a course they speak for themselves alone, as individuals; whatever they may say encouraging such a doctrine will be

utterly repudiated by the Republican party. Nothing need be stated more plainly than that the Republican party will lend no aid, comfort, or assistance to this gigantic scheme of speculators. The additional reasons why these principles apply with equal force against the refund of the cotton tax will be shown in a future article; and henceforth it may be assumed that opposition to the refund of the cotton tax and assumption of the Southern debt are two fundamental points of the platform of the Republican party.

THE GREAT EDUCATOR.

There is nothing perhaps more unsatisfactory, as far as immediate results are concerned, than imparting rudimentary instruction. The student, often, doubting the usefulness of the knowledge imparted, is rarely impressed, and is often unwilling. This temperament of the novitiate is increased when knowledge is imparted to those advanced in life, and is intensified when an educator engages to convey intelligence or establish principles by unsettling conclusions or opinions previously formed. But of all these tasks, that is the most difficult that opposes or aims to set aside partisan thesis, or to substitute a new code of political axioms for one previously adhered to.

In arguing a contested position in politics, at least a theme is suggested; an objective point is in view, the salients of which have been more or less eliminated, and thus data is furnished. When the Republican party came into power it found no such field explored. It became at once a new and a great educator of the people. It had to commence at the very A, B, C in the political school. Many, if not most, of its rudimentary lessons were distasteful, and as assured results could not be foreseen or guaranteed, were doubted and mistrusted; nay, more, their truthfulness was attacked; the great tutors of the people were assailed, and their motives impugned. As the great rudimentary lessons of the Republican

party, that were being taught in the American school of politics, aimed to uproot the false doctrines that had been engrafted in the text-books of the then dominant party, they were fiercely opposed. At first it was hardly supposed that the so-called gospel of the Democratic party could be weakened by the new dispensation. Soon, however, the great lessons of Republicanism developed themselves, and the breaches in the walls of the fortress of the opposing party commenced to appear.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the Republican party, as it exists to-day, or as it has existed for the past ten years, was born of the war of secession. Its theory, its doctrines, lessons, and its principal acts are independent of the conflict of arms. The war was but an incident of its existence, to the emergencies of which its eminent patriotism immediately adjusted itself. But the mission of the Republican party was not war. Grand as its power and its truth was developed in the hour of the people's peril, its real glory was that it was and is a party of peace. Almost before the smoke of battle had passed away it dismissed its serried hosts. No party, no power, no government that had conquered so victoriously, and sustained itself so gallantly with the sword, ever sheathed it so willingly or so quickly, when the opportunity occurred. Here was a lesson, not only to the American

people, but to the world at large. It won the applause and wonder of all people; it has caused all thoughtful people to ponder as to whether most of the great wants and contests of all cannot be settled in the future without resort to force.

It will be hardly necessary to recapitulate all the great lessons that have been taught by the Republican party that entitle it to the name of the great educator. The abolishment of involuntary servitude, instead of being its crowning achievement, is but the foundation or the sequence of many of its works. It has created a sound system of finance, and adjusted equality in exchanges over an immense geographical area. No such domain in the world enjoys such a regulation in commerce. How violently the proposition was opposed, is a matter of too recent history to dwell upon. Yet who would now even suggest a return to the chaotic system displaced by this one lesson of the great educator? It proclaimed "Liberty to all throughout the land," without which the boast of independence was but mere empty charlatanism. It taught, as its primary and its inflexible lesson, equality of all its people; it taught and maintained that the government of the people could be, and should be, sustained by the people; it taught, as a lesson, that the American people were a unit as a nation; that their integrity and its integrity, were matters upon which it would neither ask for nor brook foreign interference. Thus its lessons established a national character and reputation at home and abroad that has made the American Republic universally renowned and honored. These are a few only of the achievements up to which the lessons of the Republican party have advanced the people of this great nation. Before these great principles were acknowledged by the masses, a slow rudimentary course had to be taught. Had the ultimate intentions been discovered, the opposition would have been greater, if not insurmountable; for to false theories the partisans then in power had bound many

hand and foot. They had taught that over the general finances of the country the National Government could have no control. The lesson of the Republican party was that the Constitution gave the Government power to regulate commerce. The national bank note currency is the result. Who would now exchange it for the wild cats and shin-plasters of the "good old times?" The lesson of the old party was that the normal condition of the country was "slavery;" but the Republican party preached the new gospel of "freedom." Who now halts between these preceptors? The old party was continually fearing the interference of foreign powers, and to their shame be it forever remembered, their allies and those with whom they sympathized, did not hesitate to make overtures to other governments—even so far as to an offer of alienation of part of the domain in exchange for "aid and comfort." In this emergency the lesson of the Republican party was forcibly impressed when notice was given to the invader of Mexico that the American people proposed to settle their own disputes, and suffer no interference by other powers. Tenacious as all are on such questions, the teachings of the Republican party on this point are remembered with gratitude, and form one of the brightest pages of American history.

To all the lessons of the Republican party, it is plain to see all the people are now willing, if not eager, students. Step by step this educator has progressed, until all its precepts are acknowledged. It is singular that, at one time or the other, from the commencement of its existence to the present day, every enunciation by this party has been in its turn denounced; but it is not so singular as the significant fact that every one of its principles and precepts have been finally adopted by all shades of politicians—whether for prudential reasons or from conviction it is not necessary to inquire; sufficient is it to observe that from one of these motives all now acknowledge there can be no political success unless upon the theories and les-

sons advanced and established by the Republican party, which has thus become emphatically the great educator of the people.

Every theory, every position advanced by the Republican party, can now be found in the platform of those assuming to be opposed to it. It is plain, then, that all such opposition is but a race for place and power, and that there is no real complaint against the party which now hold the reins of government. Its opponents, beaten on all sides whenever principles were in question, have now nothing left but resort to personal dis-

likes. There have been, of course, some errors in carrying out the principles that the party established; some faults of administration, occasionally some turpitude among the *personnel* that time and occasion develop, no matter who directs the administration of the laws. These are faults of humanity that more or less pervade all society, and it would be idle to suppose they would be less prevalent among those originally indoctrinated with false ideas than among those who have been taught in that school that preserved a nation from destruction and a people from dishonor.

PURITANS AND REPUBLICANS.

As volcanoes which have long slumbered break out unexpectedly with destruction and fury, so the quiet of tyrannical governments is from time to time broken by that innate spirit in man which constantly sighs for liberty and equality. Kings who reign by privilege and birth know that they are really usurpers, and feel that their safety and continuance depend on tyrannical laws, enforced by a paid and slavish soldiery. They tremble at independence and intelligence among the people, and endeavor to crush the one and suppress, or at least control and corrupt, the other. But political earthquakes ever and anon occur where the masses are downtrodden, and a titled nobility and a *Dei Gratia* royalty ride booted and spurred on their backs. Such is now the case in France and Spain, and throes of the same kind, though less convulsive, are felt in Italy, Germany, and England.

In France and Spain the republican sympathizer can only hope against hope, and he gloomily recognizes the probability that the popular struggles now taking place will succumb to the crown of the king and the triple cap of the Romish Church. Flowers may bud and sweet plants may open their petals, but if surrounding conditions are unfavorable; if unfertile rocks or exterminating frosts only await them, they are merely born to die. Aside from aristocratic

and kingly interests, there are deeply-planted prejudices which may perhaps require ages to overcome, and in all Catholic countries the cross and the crown are in league and alliance with each other, and subjects are made to believe

"There's a divinity doth hedge a king."

Disheartened by such social obstructions, we are unable to cherish bright anticipations concerning these republican attempts among the Latin races. But to the slow advances towards the same goal made in England we may look with more assurance and confidence. There liberty of the press and much freedom of discussion prevail, and, schooled by patriots and writers who, during their day and generation, gave an impetus to sentiments of governmental freedom, the time seems not far distant when the seed sown without immediate fructification will yield a vivifying harvest.

Besides, England is a Protestant country, and such is the nature of freedom that if it be allowed to run in one direction it is thereby enabled to move in another. Religious enfranchisement induces political progress, and thus we see the two moving hand in hand. To the English Puritans, with all their gloom, their fanaticism, and the ridicule which Butler and the parasites of royalty have poured out upon them, is Great Britain

ndebted for the liberty it possesses, and these United States lighted the torch which they have now made so resplendent from the flame which was long ago kindled in Calvinistic and Presbyterian conventicles. Their detestation of both papacy and prelacy led them to the formation of independent religious organizations, and their claim to free speech and action in reference to their religious faith led to cognate political discussion and action.

Among those who led the way in England in this march of freedom was one of those many-sided men who will ever be revered for excellencies, genius, and intellect of the most diversified kind. John Milton's contribution to the literature and cause of freedom were not inferior to those which he gave to the domain of the muses. But though, as a poet his name is "familiar as a household word," and in all English-speaking countries is grandly united to those of Homer and Virgil, as a republican he is not so well known, and in Great Britain when thus recognized has been made the target of the ruffianly abuse of Johnson and all monarchical writers who considered republicanism as an "illuminated hell."

The villainy and execrable treachery of General Monk crushed the English Commonwealth, which the genius and statesmanship of Cromwell had made powerful and respected throughout the world, and reestablished the House of Stuart on the English throne. Charles II. was a fit representative of monarchy, and during his time, when prostitutes governed the court; when simony ruled in the church; when pimps were honored and titled, and when vice and corruption flaunted and prospered, the doctrines of Milton were obscured, and everything of a republican complexion was ridiculed, denounced, and suppressed. Since then there has been no revival of the English Commonwealth. Thus far one king has succeeded another, like Shakespeare's fools who trod "the way to dusty death," and as a consequence Milton's politics have been odi-

ous among the ruling classes, though as a poet his brilliancy and magnitude could be hid under no monarchical bushel.

It belongs, then, to this nation, and especially to the republicans who are in it, from time to time to give due glory to their leaders, and to bring into popular estimation those pioneers who were as much above the monarchical multitude in their political views as in the sphere of political and literary eminence. In this article we only propose to call attention to the republicanism of Milton as a matter of reference, as we have neither the time nor space to present the topic with the illustrations and commentaries which would be requisite.

An olio of gems might be culled from the works of this friend of Cromwell and Latin secretary to the Commonwealth—all written in the interests of freedom, education, and popular rights. His "Areopagitica—a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," &c., is a production abounding with passages worthy of being printed in letters of gold. His motto to this grand production is itself an axiomatic presentation of the case:

"This is true liberty, when freeborn men,
Having to advise the public, may speak free;
Which he who can, and will, deserves high
praise;
Who neither can, or will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a state than this?"

In it he thus speaks of books:

"As good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself; kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth, but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true no age can restore a life, whereof, perhaps, there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecutions we raise against the living labors of public men; how we spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books, since we see a kind of homicide may be committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends

not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the etherial and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself, and slays an immortality rather than a life."—[Prose Works, vol. ii, p. 55.]

In his "Tetrachordon" he thus describes the sly hypocrite:

"Whom do we count a good man? Whom but he
Who keeps the laws and statutes of the Senate;
Who judges in great suits and controversies;
Whose witness and opinions win the cause;
But his own house and the whole neighborhood
See his foul inside through his whitened skin."

In his "Tenure of Kings" he thus speaks of Charles I.:

"There can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable,
Than an unjust and wicked king."

He considers the same topic in his vigorous and powerful prose:

"Be this right of kings what it may, the right of the people is as much from God as it. And whenever any people appoint a king over them, they have the same right to put him down that they had to set him up at first. And certainly it is a more godlike action to depose a tyrant than to set up one, and there appears to be much more of God in the people when they depose an unjust prince than in a king that oppresses an innocent people. Nay, the people have a warrant from God to judge wicked princes, for God has conferred this very honor upon those that are dear to Him, that, celebrating the praises of Christ, their own king, 'they shall bind in chains the kings of the nations,' (under which appellation all tyrants under the Gospel are included,) and execute the judgments written upon them that challenge to themselves an exemption from all written laws."—[Psalms cxlix.] So that there is but little reason left for that wicked and foolish opinion, that kings, who are commonly the worst of men, should be so high in God's account as that he should have put the world under them, to be at their beck, and be governed according to their humor; and that for their sakes alone he should have reduced all mankind into the same condition with brutes."—[Prose Works, vol. i, p. 48.]

The grave subjects and great interests which engrossed his attention in the stirring times of the war against Charles I. and the establishment of the Commonwealth have given to his writings a seriousness that lend an undue sombre color to his character and manners. He was by no means one who thought mirth should have been put down as the worst

sin in the decalogue! On the contrary, in his "Apology for Smectymnuus," so richly teeming with beautiful thoughts, so full of youthful and cheering reminiscences, so varied, so polished, and so vehemently eloquent, as Mr. St. John says, Milton observes:

"Laughing to teach the truth,
What hinders? As some teachers give to boys
Junkets and knacks, that they may learn apace."

And again:

"Joking decides great things;
Stronger and better oft than earnest can."

In the same treatise he says:

"Neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the prelates, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heal her. I might also tell them what Electra, in Sophocles, a wise virgin, answered her wicked mother, who thought herself too violently reproved by her (the daughter):

"Tis you that say it, not I; you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds find me the words."

The remonstrant complains of libels, but we never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without control or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans."—[Prose Works, vol. iii, p. 133.]

In the "L'Allegro" he thus addresses the "Heaven yeleft Euphrosyne":

"Haste thee, nymph, and bring with thee
Jest, and youthful jollity,
Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
And love to live in dimple sleek;
Sport that wrinkled care derides,
And laughter holding both his sides."

These old English Puritans had more mirth in them than many who imitate their "form of godliness" imagine. Milton, as his writings show, had a taste for mirth and facetiousness, and his contemporaries shared this feeling with him. "Old Noll," as his enemies nicknamed Cromwell, it appears from Carlyle's life of him, loved a joke dearly, and was even fond of boisterous mirth. Even his royalist and tory maligners are compelled to admit that he seemed to be made for every successive height of station to which circumstances elevated him, and that as a ruler and general he was grave and dignified; but he had his moments of relaxation, and when surrounded by his favorites and friends practiced the poetical precepts of his Latin secretary.

CAMPAIGN IN VACATION.

Eternal vigilance is the price of more things than liberty. Anything and everything that is not watched and cared for is doomed to decay. Political organizations are no exception to this rule; hence it is the duty of those who have joined hands to disseminate the true principles of liberty under the banner of the Republican party, to see that none of its grand lessons are lost to the nation and to humanity by indifference in its ranks. It is peculiarly a fitting time for the people to reflect on the necessity of the Republican party fulfilling its mission to the very letter. There is always more or less danger when reposing under the fancied security of victory and success. To conquer is not always to succeed. It would be a blunder, and worse than a crime, if the Republican party were to pause or falter in pushing its great theories onward and forward, until all its cardinal principles are firmly and irretrievably fixed and universally acknowledged. Of course there can be no step backwards in anything that has been enunciated by the Republican party as essential, but there is more to be done than mere announcement. There is an immense deal of practical work yet to be done. Some of the work has been already marked out, some is only foreshadowed, and some is yet undeveloped. We repeat, this is a proper time for reflection. The season for pausing in the agitation of national politics is upon us, but the singular spectacle is seen of almost a combined attack being made on the Republican party by its old enemies and those who have defected from its ranks.

These attacks, though not organized into a compact onslaught, seek to weaken the Republican party by detail. In the whole history of political contests such a spectacle as is now presented to the American people was never before seen. It is no use disguising the fact that at this time, when everything in the political horizon is supposed to be clear and unclouded, a vigorous and determined campaign is being carried on, having its sole ob-

ject to break up the Republican party. Look at the idle and silly personal attacks on the leaders in its ranks. Such things were never before seen, unless in the heat of a contest. Look at the fault-finding, the unfair criticism, and the unbridled censorship of the Opposition press. We repeat, such things were never seen, unless in the midst of a campaign, and we are in the midst of a campaign. In such a conflict it behooves all true Republicans to be on the alert, to be on the defensive when requisite, but by no means to neglect to act on the offensive whenever occasion requires. No faltering now; no resting on the fancied security of victory; no reliance on majorities in Congress or legislature, but meet aggression with aggression. The issues between the Republican party and its opponent are well known. Let its friends be just as pronounced on insisting that their views be carried out by men of their own choice in whom they rely, because of previous faithfulness. Here is another danger, and a threatening one, which few seem to appreciate. So much that the Republican party fought for in the field and forum has become to be acknowledged as the nation's creed and faith, that too many think and act as if all duty and all work were finished. This is a too prevalent error. A great deal of the practical enforcement of the principles is yet to be accomplished. Jealous of the preëminent success that has attended the Republican party; envious of the universal response that has gone up all through the land to its glorious work; mindful that only on the principles of the Republican party can the liberties of the nation be preserved; convinced that only by complying with its principles can any political success be assured—its old enemies are early in the field to divide its friends and strengthen its opponents. They do this, we repeat, at a time when opposition might be least expected, when a wound might be given without being parried. The reason is obvious. Wherever and

whenever an open contest has been made with the Republican party on a real or living issue, it has come out unscathed. It cannot be, then, too often or too forcibly presented to the friends of liberty that its enemies, with all their traditional artfulness and treachery, are now engaged in a campaign against them. What, then, is the duty of the Republican party? Why, in the language of the great warrior, "To your tents, oh, Israel!" And, in this connection, it will not do to rely only on the instincts of the rank and file. To the faithful masses, who have always stood by the party, the danger may not be so apparent. They are not so accustomed to read the lessons of the hour, and judge of its import, as the leaders and prominent politicians, in whose advice and counsel they place reliance. Let those leaders see that they fulfil the trust. Let them sound the alarm, and see that the camp is not taken while the guards are asleep. Of course, if attention is called in proper quarters

no defeat can come; but it must not be forgotten that the enemy has adopted the Republican uniform, and that in this disguise spies are in the camp. It is not the first time that the livery of Heaven has been stolen in which to serve the devil. The great duty of the hour, then, is to watch every insidious approach of the enemy, to keep up local organizations, and as an unexpected campaign has been sprung at an unseasonable time, we must accept the contingency. The next duty is not to join hands with foes; let them wash their own dirty linen at home. Rely upon it, much of the seeming adherence to the principles of the Republican party is, in some quarters, assumed for a purpose—doffed but as a cloak, under which the cloven foot can be seen; a cloak that will be thrown aside when occasion offers. Republicans should recollect this, and let no trifling local preferences lead them to jeopardize the great, grand principles under which alone the Republic lives and liberty is assured.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT—HOW IT IS MANAGED.

In modern times the financial department of the Government constitutes its main pillar. A bankrupt nation, or one having an annual deficit in its treasury, can secure neither peace at home nor consideration abroad. Though it may possess millions of arms-bearing men, unless it also possess money, or credit in the money market, it cannot secure their services in its defence.

When the Republican party, in 1861, took possession of the Government, it had to face unexpected difficulties. At that time the entire expenditures of the Government were only seventy millions of dollars per annum, which were amply covered by the receipts from the tariff. In the course of a single year the expenditures enlarged to an average above one thousand millions per annum, and the origin of those measures which secured these vast sums and sustained the credit of the Government in the face of a hostile world, stamped the statesmanship of the Republican party, and particularly

that of S. P. Chase as foremost in the annals of the world.

Since 1861 we have had five Secretaries of the Treasury: Chase, Fessenden, McCulloch, Boutwell, and Richardson. It is not our purpose at this time to speak of these gentlemen personally, but only of the methods devised by which the national debt is managed and full accountability is secured. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Opposition press to throw discredit upon all Government officers, the Republican party has had the fortune of placing men of such high character to preside over the Treasury Department, that the confidence of the public, at home and abroad, has never for a moment been shaken in their personal honor. No defalcations, excepting sixty thousand dollars, occasioned by dishonest subordinates, have taken place in that Department, though the incredible sum of five thousand millions of dollars has been received and disbursed since General Spinner, in 1861, accepted

the office of Treasurer of the United States.

During the last campaign Secretary Boutwell made a speech at St. Louis in which he gave us the details of the issue and redemption of public securities; and since recently the ridiculous assertion was made, causing considerable comment, that ten millions of dollars were suddenly missing from the Treasury of the United States, we give a few extracts to show to the people the impossibility of any such occurrence. No money can be drawn from the Treasury without a warrant, which originates with the department or bureau having the account in charge, and this warrant bears upon its face the appropriation in pursuance of which it is issued. It is entered upon at least five distinct sets of books, including those of the Secretary of the Treasury, First Comptroller, and of the Register, and it passes through so many hands, and is scrutinized so often, that a mistake is only a very remote possibility. In fact, were the Secretary, or any other officer, ever so much disposed to take money out of the Treasury, it could only be done by allowing doubtful or forged claims, or by direct theft or robbery. But this channel of possible leakage is so well guarded that the general complaint has been that meritorious claims are sometimes neglected, and that too many technical proofs are required, but never that claims have been permitted to pass without due scrutiny.

We herewith annex the extracts from the speech above mentioned, and bespeak for them a careful perusal, because they will forever set at rest all doubts of the public as to the skill, carefulness, and integrity of the management of our financial affairs. Secretary Boutwell said :

There are two statements made, and one of them by persons of considerable authority in their estimation. One of them is, that by some means or other, there are over-issues, or issues in some irregular way of the public security; and the other statement is, that there is not a redemption of the public securities and a payment of the public debt correspond-

ing to the statements made to the public by the Secretary of the Treasury. When I came to the Treasury Department I thought it wise to institute measures for issuing of a new series of United States notes and fractional currency. A law had been for a long time on the statute book authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to designate a particular kind of paper to be used for printing the public securities; and upon his proclamation, to make it felony for any person to make, to issue, or to have in his possession, without the consent of the Secretary of the Treasury, any paper so designated. I thought it wise, in the first place, to give the country the benefit of that law. Therefore, this paper was selected with which you are familiar, having a fibre of silk introduced in it, and localized for the purpose of distinguishing it from the other paper—that is, the Government paper upon which all Government securities were printed. A contract was made with a manufacturer of bank-note paper in Pennsylvania; his mills were placed in charge of officers of the Government; machinery was procured for the purpose of manufacturing this paper. The paper is manufactured by the owners of the mill, but in the entire supervision of the manufacturing, somebody representing the Government is supposed, and as a matter of fact does, have his eyes upon the operation of the machinery while the entire process goes on. Every issue of paper is registered at the mill by an automatic process, and counted by persons afterwards for the purpose of testing human count with the automatic account. Every issue of this paper is turned over to the agent of the Government at the mill, who is made responsible for it. Every day at the close of work, a part of the machinery is taken from the custody of the owner of the mill and placed in safes under the charge of officers of the United States, with the design, of course, to prevent the manufacture of this paper by any surreptitious means. This paper, under orders from the Treasury Department, is transmitted, from time to time, to the bank note company's engravers and printers. There is a bank-note engraving and printing establishment in the Treasury building, at Washington. We also employ two houses in the city of New York, who are engaged in the business of bank-note printing and engraving. If you look at the United States note, you will see that there are four imprints on it. There is a green tint, as it is called, which, when examined by a glass, shows the denomination of the bill on which the tint is placed. Then there is the greenback;

then there is the black impress upon the face; then there is the red seal upon the bank note. Now, then, the process is this: Each one of these companies in New York has engraved a plate from which one of these imprints is made. At Washington the face of the note is engraved, and the Treasurer's seal of the United States is there kept and used. Whenever paper is sent to one of the bank-note companies in New York, it is charged to that company. When an imprint is placed upon it, under orders of the Department, it is transferred to the other company in New York, where another imprint is placed upon it. It is then sent to the Treasury Department at Washington, where it receives the face impressions and the seal. The Treasury of the United States has not the custody of the plates engraved by the respective bank-note companies in New York, although these plates are, by contracts, the property of the Government, and, at the end of the business, are to be given up to the Government.

But you see that—in the fact that at neither of these places did the means exist for producing a complete bank note, that the possibility of one being produced from the genuine plates used by the Government—that the probability is very remote; we thought it prudent, and the result has justified the act, to take security against the use of the genuine plates by distributing them in their engraving, in their custody, and in the use for the purpose of printing, in three different hands, under three different managements, so that it is not possible for a bank-note company in New York, or the Treasury Department at Washington, to produce a complete United States note. The bonds are treated in the same way, the backs being printed at one place and the faces at another.

Now, then, I have to say what the books of the Treasury show—and they have been examined again and again by committees of Congress—that we have printed over eighty millions of sheets of this paper, a large part of which has been applied to the uses of the Government, and every sheet of this paper can be accounted for on the books of the Department. [Applause.] Now, I make this statement, gentlemen, because you can understand how the public credit would be undermined if the impression were accepted in this country, and especially if it were accepted in Europe, that by any process the public securities from the genuine plates could be produced and put upon the markets of the world.

And I have to say, with due respect to those persons who make these sugges-

tions, that while, according to the rules of an ordinary political canvass, they have a right to assail the Administration for whatever it may be suspected of, there are some things connected with the Government too sacred for the touch of ruthless hands. [Applause.] And one of these things unquestionably is the preservation of the public credit. [Applause.] And I appeal with great confidence to the business men of St. Louis and of the country, of whatever political opinion they may be, that they will not sanction assaults of this character upon the conduct of affairs so delicate in their nature and so essential to the public welfare, unless they are first satisfied that there is substantial ground for the accusations made.

I come now to the other branch of the subject, and that is the redemption of the public securities. The books of the Treasury Department show, and the statements, monthly made, show, that since the first day of March, 1869, the sum of about three hundred and fifty-eight millions of dollars of the public debt has been paid. [Applause.] An allegation has been made, and made in a very respectable quarter, that this statement is not true; that in some way or other the books of the Department are falsified, so that the public is continually deceived as to the true state of affairs. Well, now, if this were true—if this statement were believed—why it would not so essentially affect the public credit as belief in the other statement. Still it is very essential to the public credit that the country and the world should know whether we have paid, in the course of three years and a half, three hundred and fifty millions of the public debt or not. I must reply upon the statement of facts bearing upon this subject, and I think they are tending to show the true statements put forth monthly from the Treasury Department; so that if any twelve of you were in the jury-box, you would not hesitate to find a verdict according to the view I present. The mode of proceeding is this: Having the money in the Treasury, the Assistant Treasurer at New York is authorized, week after week, upon public advertisements, to receive proposals for the sale to the Government of a specified amount of fifty-two bonds, upon sealed proposals made to him, and upon the condition that the price at which these bonds are offered does not exceed the par value of the bonds in coin. The Government receives proposals for the amount named in the advertisement. The Assistant Treasurer at New York takes an invoice in commercial form of the bonds, and

pays for them out of the moneys in his custody. These bonds are marked upon the back of each, "The property of the United States;" they are then transmitted to the Treasurer's office at Washington, and these bonds are there scrutinized by persons who are experts in the matter of detecting counterfeit bonds, and they are also examined with reference to the invoice before the Assistant Treasurer at New York can receive a credit on the books of the Treasury Department for the amount bought by him. When everything appears to be satisfactory, he is credited with the amount, and the Treasurer of the United States must also settle his accounts at the Treasury Department through the office of the First Auditor and First Comptroller of the Treasury, in order that he may obtain a credit for cancelling these bonds, as it is called—that is, perforating them by a machine, so that they can no longer be negotiable in the market. They are transmitted to the First Auditor of the Treasury with the invoice accompanying them; they are then scrutinized by experts, and if found correct, the account is passed and transmitted to the First Comptroller, where they are again examined by men similarly skilled in such affairs. They are then transmitted to the office of the Register of the Treasury, through whose office these bonds passed and were registered when they were issued, as you see on every bond and every United States note, and every bit of fractional currency, the name of "John Allison, Register," which means that that particular bond or note has been registered in his office. These bonds are there examined and compared with the books for the purpose of determining whether they are the bonds which were issued through the Register's office. When that is done they are sent to the loan office in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury. These bonds having originally passed through that office, as a check both upon the Register upon the one side and the Treasurer of the United States on the other, they are there examined by experts; they are then sent to the Committee on Destruction, composed of engravers and experts competent to decide whether these bonds are genuine or not. In their hands, if pronounced genuine, the top of each bond is cut off, showing the paper, the engraving, the date of its issue and the number upon it. That top is preserved, and the remainder of the bond is destroyed by the Destruction Committee. Now, when you consider, gentlemen, the process—when you consider that if there be any fraud in this busi-

ness, there must be men engaged in the fraud in six or eight different offices—isn't it the most improbable thing in the world that any fraud can arise? But, gentlemen, I have better evidence, if better evidence than circumstantial evidence be required; but I think in this case, as in many others, the circumstantial proof is so strong that direct testimony hardly adds to the value of the cause. But the direct testimony is this: Last November a committee was appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, consisting of certain members of the Treasury Department, and two bankers of the city of Washington, not connected with the Government, the first of whom was Mr. Riggs, of the firm of Corcoran & Riggs, known in this country and in Europe as an eminent banker and an honest man, not in any way connected with the Treasury Department, not sympathizing in his political opinions with the Administration. With this gentleman the House of Representatives saw fit to associate one of its committees, of which Mr. Lynch, of Maine, was chairman, and upon which were several Democratic members. Through many weeks this committee, thus constituted, examined the books of the Treasurer's office. They counted the amount of bonds, the notes redeemed, the notes on hand not issued—every evidence of indebtedness, and every species of property which could be regarded as an asset in the hands of the Government—and that committee made a report, without a dissenting voice, that everything in the office of the Treasury of the United States was correct. [Applause.]

POSTAL TELEGRAPH.—The Osage City (Kansas) *Shaft* says:

"We honor the Postmaster General for his persistent recommendation to adopt the postal telegraph system. The present systems are comparatively monopolies, and we hope the people will get waked up to the fact. It is quite plain to us why proprietors of daily papers are ridiculing and disparaging the proposed system. If carried out, the postal telegraph would destroy the monopoly in telegraphic despatches, and, in that way only, injure these daily papers aforesaid. On the other hand, the great mass of the people would be benefited to an amount incalculable. Among the various monopolies which the people are working to circumscribe, we hope the telegraph will not be overlooked.

THE railroads of the United States cost \$3,159,423,057.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT.

A Southern political writer, of the unreconstructed class, has recently vented, with much vigor and more passion, his hatred of Yankee education, Yankee improvements, Yankee government, and Yankee ideas of all kinds, whether general or particular. This would-be "prophet, priest, and king" foresees untold evils in the prevalence of Yankee innovations, and more especially Yankee free schools, free labor, and free condition. Finally, he denounces modern civilization itself as humbug and degeneracy, and looks back to the old times of master and slave as the only state suited to the true requirements of man. Such a tirade against all that renders this country powerful, happy, and progressive, leads the mind naturally to a comparison between the present condition of the human race and its preceding situation; and also to a consideration of the gradation from want to plenty, and from force and oppression to liberty and republicanism.

Poets and mythologists fondly look back to a golden age, when a paradise was upon earth; when man was noble and pure; when woman was innocent and beautiful; when the climate was ever mild and genial, the soil spontaneously productive, and the animals tame and affectionate. This epoch of happiness, thus pictured forth, stretches so far back into the past that it is like the ends of a rainbow—impossible to find. The first chapters of Genesis represent Adam and Eve as roaming through a pleasant garden, ignorant of good and evil, unclothed, uncultured, and dependent for sustenance on spontaneous fruits. Thus man in this condition had everything to learn. But the march of human progression has been like that of the formation of a coral island—slow, slow, slow! A vastly immense period was requisite for him to attain a regular language; to build houses and cities; to form governments and laws; to fabricate tools and weapons; to learn agriculture and the arts. Being without natural weapons of

offence and defence, and destitute of the natural protections against inclement temperatures, which the lower animals possess, the first men would only be victorious in the struggle for existence where conditions were favorable, where the climate did not exact clothing, and where a fruitful soil furnished food without culture. The study of the progress of civilization in the Old and New World, as well as natural deduction itself, inevitably lead us to this conclusion.

As we have said, climate, soil, and food of proper adaptation and abundance, were indispensable to the very existence of the primitive man, and to his growth and progress, physically and intellectually. But to possess these features, a country must have both heat and moisture in such degrees as to insure fertility, without running into excessive and tangled luxuriance of production. In Asia we meet these conditions in alluvial Hindoostan; in Africa we observe them in Egypt. All history concurs to represent these countries as the earliest civilized in the Old World. In Hindoostan the primitive man subsisted on rice, native to that soil. The product of the plant abounds in starch, and furnishes more nutriment, in the same bulk, than any species of the cerealia. In Egypt the date tree furnished its sweet and nutritious fruit without requiring pains or culture. If we look to the New World under its aboriginal inhabitants, we find nothing that deserves the name of civilization, except in the regions of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. In these countries we find a similar conjunction of favorable conditions. Although irrigation is dispensed to the eastern portion of the continent, and the warmer climate to the western, and thus the requirements of heat and moisture are separated, yet in Mexico there was heat by means of its latitude, and there was such a stretch of sea-coast, that moisture was thence derived in the form of vapor, and the needed fertility resulted. In Peru was a correspondent state of things.

In both these countries flourished a native product, similar to rice and dates in its nutriment and its prolific crops. We speak of maize, or Indian corn, which in Mexico yields from four hundred to eight hundred fold. Both these countries produced bananas spontaneously; and to Peru potatoes, the most nourishing of all roots, was indigenous. The bananas produced on an acre sufficient for the nourishment of fifty persons. Their produce is forty-four times greater than potatoes, and one hundred and thirty-three times greater than wheat.

Hindoostan, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru, then, were the first centres of civilization for the human race. From these points men gradually radiated, and learned to contend with Nature herself and to overcome her. Man at length became able to defy adverse influences, and to advance from one intellectual conquest to another. In America, however, there were too many adverse circumstances to admit the primitive men to make great advances. The conditions we have mentioned were not found north of parallel twenty; and in the eastern portions of South America man was kept down by the very profusion of animal and vegetable production, owing to the vast rivers and the rains produced by the trade winds. Ages on ages were required to educate a race of men to such a degree that they should one day make the United States of North America the most desirable region on the surface of the whole earth—not for their fertility; not for their riches; not for their climate, but for their freedom! Their freedom higher, nobler, richer than all else in the world!

Hindoostan, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru seem to have been the earliest inhabited and civilized regions of the Old and the New World, if we leave out Central America, of which we do not speak, because of its stupendous ruins, its characteristic architecture, and its singular hieroglyphics we know nothing that is historical. But the other four countries are also ruins of what they once were. The Peruvians and Mexicans were mercilessly exterminated by men who claimed

as the highest object of their worship a universal father and a prince of peace. The Egyptians, too, in the revolutions of ages, and under a succession of foreign oppressors, have passed away, and the present inhabitants of the soil know no more of the hieroglyphics and monuments upon which they gaze, than, on this continent, does the Indian know of the sculptures and edifices of Copan and Palenque. Hindoostan is also decayed, imbruted, and behind the age. A nation claiming to exceed all others in whatever is excellent and noble holds the land in bondage, and oppresses and plunders it. And why is all this? It is because those very conditions so absolutely necessary to foster and sustain men in their infancy, tended to prevent their development beyond a certain limit. The facility of living afforded but too much encouragement to population. Thus the abundance of spontaneous food and the density of population made the wages of labor low, and prevented the diffusion of wealth. One class was powerful and opulent, and the other was kept in poverty and ignorance. Under these circumstances, and owing to the others we shall hereafter mention, civilization could not attain a gigantic stature in the favored regions, but developed itself in nations of a later growth.

When the tide of population had spread itself to Europe, carrying with it such acquisitions as had been gained, there were new conditions, which developed the human mind to an extent of which Asia could never boast. In such a country as Greece, for example, as we shall rapidly point out, everything was calculated to stimulate and strengthen the intellect, and to increase its resources. In the tropical regions, life did not exact that care, forethought, and constant effort which was necessary to give tension and force to the mind. In the colder climate, man had learned to protect himself from the weather, and to compel the soil to yield him sustenance. His constantly-recurring wants kept his mind incessantly active, and this invigoration imparted to it new strength and new

powers. The temperate regions of Europe had those elements which tasked men in their minds and bodies to a healthful extent, without pushing them to the opposite extreme of unremitting toil—an extreme also fatal to mental growth. There being no spontaneous productions to support life without culture, and no genial climate to render clothing unnecessary as a means to sustain existence, population was not overstimulated, and labor demanded a somewhat adequate compensation. Wealth was, therefore, more diffused, and liberty, intelligence, and intellectual vigor became the property of the masses.

Besides, if we take Greece again as the illustration of the early civilization of Europe, as we took Hindoostan for that of Asia, we shall observe other advantages in favor of the former. There the *aspects of nature* were more propitious to the exercise of the commanding powers of the intellect. In Hindoostan the great rivers, the lofty and impassible mountains, and the vast and interminable ocean intimidated the human powers, and prevented attempts at bridging, climbing, and navigating. In Greece all was different, and consequently men acquired the habit and ability of contending with nature, and trade, commerce, and navigation resulted.

Again, in the tropical regions, earthquakes, devastating storms, hurricanes, ferocious beasts, and terrible diseases, all ravaged and destroyed at different times, and kept the mind humble, subdued, and terrified. Their absence in Greece imparted confidence, courage, resolution, and heroism. In the one region they sank to imploring appeals to dread divinities; in the other, they felt akin to gods. The mythologies of Hindoostan, Egypt, Peru, and Mexico are the conceptions of superstitious terror and abject helplessness. The representations of their divinities are monstrous, hideous, and deformed. They are not human. The Greek mythology, on the other hand, portrays deities made in the image of man. We have dignity and power in Jupiter, beauty and voluptuous-

ness in Venus, grace and majesty in Juno, wisdom and purity in Minerva, and so on of the other celestial inhabitants of Mount Olympus. Even in Christendom a worshipper's God is vindictive or merciful, loving or revengeful, forgiving or implacable, like the man who prays to Him. The medium through which an object is viewed modifies its appearance. Hence arose the different mythologies of the tropical and the temperate zones. The influences which we have mentioned elevated European civilization, and gave it an impetus which has since made that continent the tamer and conqueror of the world. It is by reason of the causes we have stated, but not elaborated, that the arts and sciences developed themselves more extensively in Europe than in Asia. It is in consequence of these causes that the European intellect, as finally expanded in Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, will continue to advance to an extent that cannot be calculated.

If the march of reform is slow, it is not the less inevitably and constantly progressing. Every improvement in science, every advancement in knowledge, tends to sap the foundations of those impositions which still, in the greater part of the world, like an incubus, weigh down the struggles of the masses for ecclesiastical and governmental emancipation. Who, then, when reading the cruelties of despotism, does not rejoice that the day of retribution will yet arrive; when titled oppressors will be levelled to a standard commensurate only with their actual merit, and when no power shall emanate but from its sole legitimate source—the great body of the people? Enlightened by the press, and instructed by experience, they will at length learn their own strength and know how to gain their rights with energy, with toleration, and with consistent firmness. When that moment comes, the sceptre of the monarch will fall before the lowliest agricultural implement of the peasant; jeweled crowns will be flaunted no more as emblems of majesty;

the coronet and the mitre will have lost their awe, and the king and the noble will be known no more. Long must it be before so glorious a vision can be realized; but is not such an era waiting, like a seraph, to be no more the future, but to become the joyous, the enrapturing present? Is not knowledge becoming more and more diffused? and will it not at length bring about these happy effects? In the words of Percy Bysshe Shelley, that gifted poet who perished in the bloom of manhood, ere society had reaped the

matured results of his genius—in his words—

"When Reason's voice,
Loud as the voice of Nature, shall have waked
The nations; and mankind perceive that vice
Is discord, war, and misery; that virtue
Is peace, and happiness, and harmony;
When man's maturer nation shall disdain
The playthings of its childhood, kingly glare
Will lose its power to dazzle; its authority
Will silently pass by; the gorgeous throne
Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall,
Fast falling to decay; whilst falsehood's trade
Shall be as hateful and unprofitable
As that of truth is now."

JUSTICE TO WORTHY OFFICIALS.

Knowing that the public service is being greatly injured, and that there is danger that modest and unassuming gentlemen of high merits will be deterred by uniform denunciation of office-holders from the acceptance of public trusts, we are glad that a portion of the independent press is pursuing a different policy.

We find, for instance, the following sketches of four principal officers of the Treasury in the *Chicago Fireside Friend*, and we reproduce it, not for the purpose of advancing the interest of individuals, but as a demonstration by example that the civil service generally is in honest and competent hands. It is as much the duty of a conscientious publicist to praise well-doing as to denounce unfaithfulness, and we know that the four gentlemen named deserve the highest commendation for faithfulness to official trust:

"JUDGE STEPHEN J. W. TABOR.

"The accounting office in the Treasury Department for the disbursements of the Navy is that of the Fourth Auditor, at the head of which is Judge Stephen J. W. Tabor, of Iowa. The Judge has been in charge of the office about ten years. He had up to that time been a prominent man in the politics of his State, and had a fine prospect of obtaining position of high honor and influence. But attracted by the fascinations of Washington life, he came here and took charge of the important bureau whose affairs he has ever since conducted.

"The Judge used to be much noted as a political speaker, but he has not lately done much in that line of influence. He

is, however, an uncommonly pleasant speaker, with a thin, fine voice, like that of a woman, and an energy of manner and emphasis of expression which always give his oratorical efforts an interest and power which your heavy speakers never reach. He is a sagacious politician—an old time Radical Republican, and one of the most laborious and faithful of our public officers. He is also what too many of our public men are not—a great reader and hard student generally. There are few better informed men than Judge Tabor at the national capital, and not among those in office—high or low—who can talk more interestingly and intelligently on a great variety of subjects. Indeed, we sometimes think that in adopting the life of a politician instead of that of an author he made a mistake. Certain we are that when the Government secured in him a first-rate auditor, the public lost an excellent thinker and writer.

"HON. E. B. FRENCH.

"The Second Auditor's Office has charge of the accounts of disbursing officers in the pay and ordnance departments of the Army, and the Surgeon General's Office. The Hon. E. B. French, of Maine, has been Second Auditor ever since 1861, when, having served through the Thirty-sixth Congress, he was appointed by President Lincoln. We do not know how many hundred millions of money have been paid to officers and soldiers for salary, regular pay, bounties, &c., since the commencement of the late war, but, whatever the immense amount, every dollar has been accounted for by vouchers, now on file in the office in charge of Mr. French. Were there no other accounts to examine there, it will be seen from this statement that the business of the office has been very great since Mr.

French's control of it, though, of course, it is much less now than it was during the war. But at any time the position so long filled by Mr. French is one of great responsibility and constant labor. Though he used to be assailed by some public journals for one reason or another, we believe it is now universally conceded that he is an excellent officer. When thousands on thousands were in a hurry for bounty money, lawyers and claim agents growled at Mr. French because it was not forthcoming like rain in a thunder shower. They have since learned that he worked the machinery in hand as well and as rapidly as it could possibly be moved. There never was any one so unjust as to say that he was not a fine man and agreeable gentleman. Large, fine-looking, though now somewhat gray, of a dignified demeanor, his presence is about as imposing as that of any of our public men. In conversation he is inclined to be mirthful, though one, on first acquaintance with him, would about as soon think of extracting a joke out of a tombstone. The solemn air soon blows away, however, and Mr. French comes out of the shell of ceremony not only an agreeable but a jolly companion.

"JOHN F. HARTLEY.

"Hon. John F. Hartley, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, outranks, of course, both Judge Tabor and Mr. French; but there is no rank in these pen and ink sketches. When we come to draw the President we shall probably place him near the middle of the sketch in hand. This is the true artistic plan. It gives agreeable surprise, and demonstrates the genuine democracy of the artist. What care we for rank, or official station, or anything but merit and manhood in men? Not a cent.

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gold for a' that."

"And there is a great deal of good 'gowd' in Mr. John F. Hartley. There is probably not a more intelligent and efficient public officer in the civil service; and a more pleasant, agreeable, high-toned gentleman one would not meet in a year's travel. Mr. Hartley has been in the service a great many years. We sometimes think the Treasury Department was made for him, and will allow nobody to contradict us when we say that he surely was made for the Treasury Department. He has a genius for it. What he does not know about the conduct of all its business in all its bureaux, divisions, and branches is not worth knowing. We suppose Mr. Hartley is more familiar with the laws and regulations pertaining to customs duties than

any other man in the United States. What is more, he is familiar with all that has been written and spoken on the subject by writers and orators. And so it is with other things. He understands not only the practical details pertaining to our system of finances, but its philosophy also, and its operations with respect to the trade and commerce and development of the country. He would, therefore, make a capable, efficient Secretary of the Treasury; and should Mr. Richardson happen to resign we should most earnestly hope to see Mr. Hartley appointed in his place. It is very rare that we see one so excellent in the routine of official duties with a mind so clear, comprehensive, and powerful as that of Mr. Hartley. But for his modesty, astonishingly great considering this climate, we think he would have been at the head of the Department long ago.

"Mr. Hartley is one of the most cultivated men in Washington. He is wonderfully familiar with all English and American literature. Few men in the country surpass him as a conversationalist. A chivalric gentleman, a splendid official, he is entitled to the kindest consideration and heartiest respect of his countrymen. And yet, so upside-down and wrong-side-out do politics turn so many affairs that we doubt whether one man in a hundred in this star-spangled Union knows that such a man as John F. Hartley lives. Is it not enough to make all high-toned men condemn the ingratitude of politics?

"LE ROY TUTTLE.

"When speaking of Treasurer Spinner some time ago, we incidentally mentioned Assistant Treasurer Le Roy Tuttle. He is worthy of more particular notice. Tuttle is a business man. There is no more flesh on him than there is on a liberty pole or a zig-zag fence; but as much life and 'get up and get along' in him as in a camelopard chased by lions. He is, in short, the embodiment of activity; and what he always means is business—the getting ready for business which requires one to move around lively. If any one was ever born a business man it is Le Roy Tuttle, now one of the Assistant Treasurers of these United States, and twelve years ago the cashier of a bank in a small city out West.

"A vast sum of money has been paid out of the United States Treasury since Tuttle has been there. He has had many men under his management. We believe but one ever deceived him and brought him to grief. Indeed, the Treasury has been surpassingly free from defalcations and embezzlements. Such crimes

have been too often committed, but in nearly every instance they have occurred after the money had been lawfully taken from the Treasury. Mr. Tuttle is entitled to a large share of credit, as well as General Spinner, that such is the fact. In person Mr. Tuttle is small in stature, but so wiry and active that we think he must get over more ground than any other man in the Treasury. He can talk to a dozen persons, and keep on writing at his desk just as though no one were present. And he is a good talker, too. Notwithstanding the vast amount of business to which he attends, he has always found time to read a great deal, and is a highly intelligent gentleman. He is always uncommonly well informed as to all passing events, being a constant, judicious reader of newspapers."

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY.—The Republican party is responsible for those measures and acts which it endorses or defends. To hold it accountable for every act of its servants is to condemn a community for every transgression of the law. No code of laws can make men honest; no organization can be entirely free from rascality. Laws can restrain the disorderly and punish dishonesty; organizations can repudiate rascality when found. Beyond this, neither law nor organization can be justly held responsible for the shortcomings of those who are dishonestly inclined. Human judgment is often in error; confidence, apparently well founded, is abused; men who hold good reputations fail; the trusted turn out rascals. This has been so from the foundation of time, and will, in all probability, continue to the end. The best we can hope for is that bad men, as soon as known, shall be driven from power; that questionable public measures shall be denounced; that good men shall be selected to right the wrong done; and that a sharp watch be kept upon those who are for the time being called to represent and protect the people's interests. The purest individual that ever lived has made mistakes; has reposed confidence in unworthy men. To expect otherwise is to look for perfection in human nature. The best party that can be organized by the wisdom, intelligence, and patriotism of the na-

tion will at times be led into the support of men who will prove unworthy of public confidence. To endorse the acts of these men would be to transfer their iniquity to the party itself; to promptly repudiate them is to elevate the party above reproach or censure. We should draw a broad line between the bad faith of a servant and the good intentions of his master. The Republican party has had its faithless servants, but in no case has it attempted to shield them from the punishment they deserved. As soon as discovered the party has repudiated them, and entered before the people its earnest protest against their acts. The record of every Republican State convention gives evidence of a sterling morality among the masses of the people. Never in its history has its standard of public integrity stood as high as it does to-day. It demands honest men for public positions and is determined to have them. No measure, no act, no character can hope to be whitewashed by the Republican party. Both man and measure must stand upon their merits. If they are just and true, the party will be quick to support and advocate them; if unjust and dishonest, they will be consigned to oblivion. We have faith in a party that stands guard over the actions of its servants; that is ready to repudiate whatever is wrong; that is independent enough to exact from its leaders the highest qualities of personal character and official integrity. The Republic can never be in danger when so true and loyal a power guides the administration of its affairs.

THIRD PARTIES.—There are certain politicians, in our own party as well as in that of the Opposition, who are satisfied, as long as they hold fat offices and grow rich from the pickings of the public table, that their respective organization will last until the end of time; but once out of office, with a poor show of getting back, either through election or appointment, and they suddenly discover that the party over which they were once so eloquent is too corrupt to hold them longer, and that an absolute

necessity exists for the immediate formation of a new party. Of course they have no selfish ends to serve; they neither hold nor want office, but the good of the dear people demands a new party, and they, with patriotic ardor, offer their services in engineering a third party into the field. A new crop of these disinterested patriots springs up after every convention. They start out with the proclamation that old rings and new slates must be smashed. Nothing but a new party can save the country, and administer its Government in the interest of the dear people. But the people are slow to accept their views. The hungry appearance of these disinterested prophets awakens suspicion that a new party is needed more for the purpose of keeping them from starvation, than for the purpose of saving the country from destruction. The dear people have a singular way of judging things. They are very apt to conclude that the party that was good enough when these fellows were in office, ought to be a trifle better when they were out; so they turn a cold shoulder on these third party-makers, and leave them to go it alone. To hear these disappointed office-seekers talk, you would be led to believe, that when they withdrew their spinal cord from the public service, the backbone of the party was broken. During the late Presidential campaign they actually created a panic, and some very good Republicans thought that the Greeley tidal wave was sure to sweep the party from existence. But the terrible wave turned out to be a mere ripple, and the army of Republicans who had joined the third party could hardly muster on the 5th of November a corporal's guard. The fate of the Liberal Reform party will be the fate of all parties called into existence by sore-headed politicians and disappointed office-seekers. The people are not blind. They can see for themselves when a party has outlived its usefulness. They have no confidence in politicians who believe in a party to-day because it gives them office, and denounces it to-morrow because it don't. The latest

efforts of these third party-makers are being made in the West. They are trying to impress upon the farmers the necessity of setting up for themselves, and running the Government on an agricultural basis. They offer their advice free, and would willingly hold a few leading offices just to keep the machine steady for awhile. If they can only enter the farmers' movement as a wedge to split the Republican party, they hope to get material enough to either rebuild Democracy or form a third party. But their efforts, like those of the past, will fail. The farmers know that the grand old party of freedom has done, and will do, for their interest more than all the third parties can promise. If they need special representation, they know they can secure it within the ranks of the party. If they want a representative farmer in Congress, or at the head of a State, they have the right kind of material in their own party to elect him.

It is no use, gentlemen; you had better save your car fare, and settle down to some honest employment. The people are satisfied with the Republican party for the present. When they need a third party to secure a better administration of affairs, they will call it into existence, as they did the Republican party itself. When the movement comes from the people, there will be no mistake as to its origin and necessity. It will come with the roar of the tempest, not the croaking of a frog. But there are no present signs of its coming, nor will they appear as long as our party holds its officials to strict account for their public acts. There is much to be done, and while these third party-makers are spending their money and wasting their time in fruitless efforts to create a new party, the grand old party of progress will pursue the even tenor of its way, and establish itself deeper in the affections of the people with each year of its administration.

THE estimates of appropriations for the Department of Justice will not vary \$500 from the estimates of last year.

EDUCATE THE GIRLS.—The Napa (Cal.) Reporter has the following sensible suggestions, which we fully indorse:

"A great injustice is done the most of our girls in not qualifying them in any way for gaining a livelihood when they are grown up. They are abundantly drilled in book learning; are taught music, the languages, perhaps, and generally are given what is regarded as a liberal education; but they are, as a rule, taught no business, trade, or profession whatever, and are left totally incompetent to struggle with the world in the ordinary pursuits in which men have to grapple with it, either for reputation or for a livelihood. It is regarded as a sensible education for a boy to 'teach him that in his youth which he will have to follow for a livelihood when he is grown up.' But is the same proper rule observed in regard to girls? Not in one case out of fifty. The education which girls ordinarily get, though clever enough in itself, necessary to their accomplishment, and making them more intelligent companions, yet leaves them, at years of discretion, entirely at the mercy of the world, as far as any ability to cope with it is concerned. The only recourse left her is to marry. This she does, forfeits her independence, sinks her individuality, and if she ever had the capacity or the ambition to 'make anything of herself' the chance is forever gone, and she is swallowed up in the vortex of domestic drudgery. She is a slave for a family. She can do housework the balance of her life. If the poor man's chances are small, God help the poor man's wife. Her's are infinitely less. This evil we charge to the want of a practical education. They should be brought up so that they will not be obliged to marry for a living. Teach girls a trade, or a business, or a profession. It won't hurt them anyway, even if they never want to use it, and it will strengthen and ennoble their characters to feel within themselves the consciousness of being able to take care of themselves. They will be of all the stronger and more vigorous intellects. They will be sensible, and will not be half so likely to adore the youth who waltzes gracefully and parts his hair in the middle. In a word, they will be better women, and their companionship will make better men."

THE Rutland Herald, one of the most ably-conducted papers in Vermont, in an article upon the same subject, remarks:

"And right here is the whole secret.

Young men spend from three to seven years in mastering the business of a lifetime. Young women dream of a husband and an establishment, and if they undertake any work it is with slight, if any, training, and the work of their hands is so imperfect that it has no market value. The industries of the world are governed by immutable laws, and the best work always commands the highest price. If women choose to trust their future to the domestic ties of home and a family, we honor their choice, and hope they may be happy enough to pay them for the wisdom of their decision. If, on the other hand, they choose to take the chances of life in the business world, let them do as men do in acquiring a knowledge of, and skill in, their business before they raise a hue and cry that they are oppressed by unjust discriminations on account of lower wages for poorer work, or a less price for worse service."

FIVE-TWENTY BONDS OF 1862.—The following official circular has been issued by Secretary Richardson. It bears date August 16, 1873:

"By virtue of the authority given by the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt,' I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein-below designated, known as five-twenty bonds, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, on and after the 16th day of November, 1873, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day—that is to say, coupon bonds known as the third series, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows:

"*Coupon Bonds.*—\$50—No. 6201 to No. 10200, both inclusive; \$100—No. 20001 to No. 30750, both inclusive; \$500—No. 10701 to No. 15800, both inclusive; \$1,000—No. 22601 to No. 36000, both inclusive.

"*Registered Bonds.*—\$50—No. 1321 to 1375, both inclusive; \$100—No. 9501 to No. 10300, both inclusive; \$500—No. 5701 to No. 6100, both inclusive; \$1,000—No. 23301 to No. 25000, both inclusive; \$5,000—No. 7501 to No. 7900, both inclusive; \$10,000—No. 9681 to No. 10100, both inclusive.

"Of the amount outstanding (embraced in the numbers as above,) \$13,000,000 are coupon bonds and \$2,000,000 are registered bonds.

"United States securities, forwarded for redemption, should be addressed to

the 'Loan Division, Secretary's Office,' and all registered bonds should be assigned to 'the Secretary of the Treasury for redemption.'"

CHEATED, BUT NOT CONQUERED.—In his late speech before the Southern Historical Society, Jeff. Davis informed his fellow-historians, that "the South was more cheated and defrauded than conquered, by the declarations of the Federal President, Congress and generals, and there never could have been a surrender, had the Confederates anticipated what has since occurred, and to-day we would have been free." "Cheated and defrauded" are expressive terms. Lee surrendered because he was "cheated" by Grant, and Johnson was "defrauded" by Sherman out of his sword. These expressions will sound well in a Southern history, and may tend to make it a popular text-book in some sections of the South. But they are far from complimentary to the skilful generals who led the Confederate armies, or the brave men who fell fighting in their shattered ranks. If our impressions are correct, Lee fought until he could fight no longer. His retreat was cut off, and to continue the struggle would have been, not soldiery, but butchery on his part. It was in view of this hopeless condition of the rebel army, that General Grant sent the following note to General Lee on the 7th of April, 1865, two days before the actual surrender took place.

"GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood; by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia."

This is the first effort on the part of Grant to "cheat and defraud" Lee into the surrender of his army. Before Lee could make up his mind that Grant's view was right, he made one desperate effort to break through the cavalry that stood in the line of his retreat. This

was on the 9th, the day of the surrender. The effort failed. The last ditch was reached, and the only alternative was surrender, or annihilation. Yet the historical Davis says that the Confederates were not conquered, but "cheated and defrauded" into a surrender. If he had stood by Lee during that fiery trial, instead of seeking safety in headlong flight, he would have thought differently. "If the Confederates anticipated what has since occurred they would never have surrendered," says this silly old revolutionist. If the Confederates anticipated what followed the firing on Sumter, there would have been no war. But they allowed Davis and a few false prophets to anticipate for them, and the result was a bloody and devastating war. Yet this prophet of evil, who has done greater injury to the South than any one man, living or dead, has the effrontery to stand among the people he has ruined, and justify the treason he practiced, and preach its return as one of the sacred duties of the rising generation. Instead of following the example of Lee, who counselled the Southern people to seek the restoration of former prosperity through peace and industry, Jeff. Davis is going from place to place, keeping alive the jealousies of the war, fanning the flames of passion, and sowing the seeds of another rebellion among a people who sincerely desire peace. We believe there is enough good sense in the South to counteract the influence of this bad man. We can hardly believe that the applause which greeted him at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, was the sentiment of the Southern people. If it was, the work of reconstruction will be long delayed, and the best interests of the South will suffer accordingly. If such treasonable speeches as those uttered by Jeff. Davis are to be tolerated in the South, we may well despair of seeing loyalty the governing element in that section. If Davis has any friends who believe the Union is better than the disorder he would bring about, they should send him abroad, or advise him to keep silent.

Table showing Capitals of States, Governors and their Salaries, when Legislatures meet, and Elections are held.

STATES.	Capitals.	Governors.	Salary.	Term Expires.	Legislature Meets.	State Elections.
Alabama.....	Montgomery.....	D. P. Lewis.....	\$4,000	Nov., 1874.....	Nov., 3d Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Arkansas.....	Little Rock.....	E. Baxter.....	5,000	Jan., 1877.....	Jan., 1st Monday.....	Nov., 1st Monday.
California.....	Sacramento.....	N. Booth.....	7,000	Dec., 1875.....	Dec., 1st Monday.....	Sept., 1st Wednesday.
Connecticut.....	Hartford & N. Haven.	C. R. Ingersoll.....	1,100	May, 1874.....	May, 1st Wednesday.....	April, 1st Monday.
Delaware.....	Dover.....	J. Ponder.....	1,333	Jan., 1875.....	*Jan., 1st Tuesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Florida.....	Tallahassee.....	O. B. Hart.....	1,500	Jan., 1877.....	Jan., Tu. aft. 1st Mon.	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Georgia.....	Atlanta.....	J. M. Smith.....	4,000	Jan., 1877.....	*Jan., 2d Wednesday.....	Oct., 1st Wednesday.
Illinois.....	Springfield.....	R. J. Oglesby.....	1,500	Jan., 1877.....	*Jan., 1st Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Indiana.....	Indianapolis.....	T. A. Hendricks.....	3,000	Jan., 1877.....	*Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Oct., 2d Tuesday.
Iowa.....	Des Moines.....	C. C. Carpenter.....	2,500	Jan., 1874.....	*Jan., 2d Monday.....	Oct., 2d Tuesday.
Kansas.....	Topeka.....	T. A. Osborn.....	2,500	Jan., 1875.....	Jan., 2d Tuesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Kentucky.....	Frankfort.....	P. H. Leslie.....	5,000	Sept., 1874.....	*Dec., 1st Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Louisiana.....	New Orleans.....	W. P. Kellogg.....	8,000	Jan., 1877.....	Jan., 1st Monday.....	Aug., 1st Monday.
Maine.....	Augusta.....	Sidney Perham.....	2,500	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Sept., 2d Monday.
Maryland.....	Annapolis.....	W. P. Wylie.....	3,600	Jan., 1876.....	*Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Massachusetts.....	Boston.....	W. B. Washburn.....	5,000	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Michigan.....	Lansing.....	J. J. Bagley.....	1,500	Jan., 1875.....	*Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Minnesota.....	St. Paul.....	H. Austin.....	3,000	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., Tu. aft. 1st Mon.	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Mississippi.....	Jackson.....	R. C. Powers.....	3,000	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., Tu. aft. 1st Mon.	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Missouri.....	Jefferson City.....	S. Woodson.....	2,500	Jan., 1875.....	*Dec., last Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Nebraska.....	Lincoln.....	R. W. Furness.....	1,200	Jan., 1875.....	*Jan., Th. aft. 1st Mon.	Oct., 2d Tuesday.
Nevada.....	Carson City.....	L. R. Bradley.....	6,000	Jan., 1874.....	*Jan., 1st Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
N. Hampshire.....	Concord.....	E. A. Straw.....	1,000	June, 1874.....	June, 1st Monday.....	Mar., 2d Tuesday.
New Jersey.....	Trenton.....	Joel Parker.....	3,000	Jan., 1875.....	Jan., 2d Tuesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
New York.....	Albany.....	John A. Dix.....	4,000	Jan., 1875.....	Jan., 1st Tuesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
North Carolina.....	Raleigh.....	T. R. Caldwell.....	5,000	Jan., 1877.....	Nov., 1st Thursday.....	Aug., 1st Thursday.
Ohio.....	Columbus.....	E. F. Noyes.....	4,000	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., 1st Monday.....	Oct., 2d Tuesday.
Oregon.....	Salem.....	L. F. Granger.....	1,500	Sept., 1874.....	Sept., 2d Monday.....	June, 1st Monday.
Pennsylvania.....	Harrisburg.....	J. F. Hartranft.....	5,000	Jan., 1876.....	Jan., 1st Tuesday.....	Oct., 2d Tuesday.
Rhode Island.....	Providence & Newport.	Henry Howard.....	1,000	May, 1874.....	May and January.....	April, 1st Wednesday.
South Carolina.....	Columbia.....	F. J. Moses, jr.....	4,000	Jan., 1875.....	Nov., 4th Monday.....	Oct., 3d Wednesday.
Tennessee.....	Nashville.....	J. C. Brown.....	3,000	Jan., 1875.....	*Oct., 1st Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
Texas.....	Austin.....	E. J. Davis.....	5,000	Nov., 1873.....	Jan., 2d Tuesday.....	Nov., 1st Tuesday.
Vermont.....	Montpelier.....	J. Converse.....	1,000	Oct., 1874.....	*Oct., 2d Thursday.....	Sept., 1st Tuesday.
Virginia.....	Richmond.....	G. C. Walker.....	5,000	Jan., 1874.....	Dec., 1st Monday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.
West Virginia.....	Charleston.....	J. J. Jacobs.....	2,000	Nov., 1874.....	Jan., 2d Tuesday.....	Oct., 4th Thursday.
Wisconsin.....	Madison.....	C. C. Washburn.....	5,000	Jan., 1874.....	Jan., 1st Wednesday.....	Nov., Tu. aft. 1st Monday.

Democrats in *italic*.